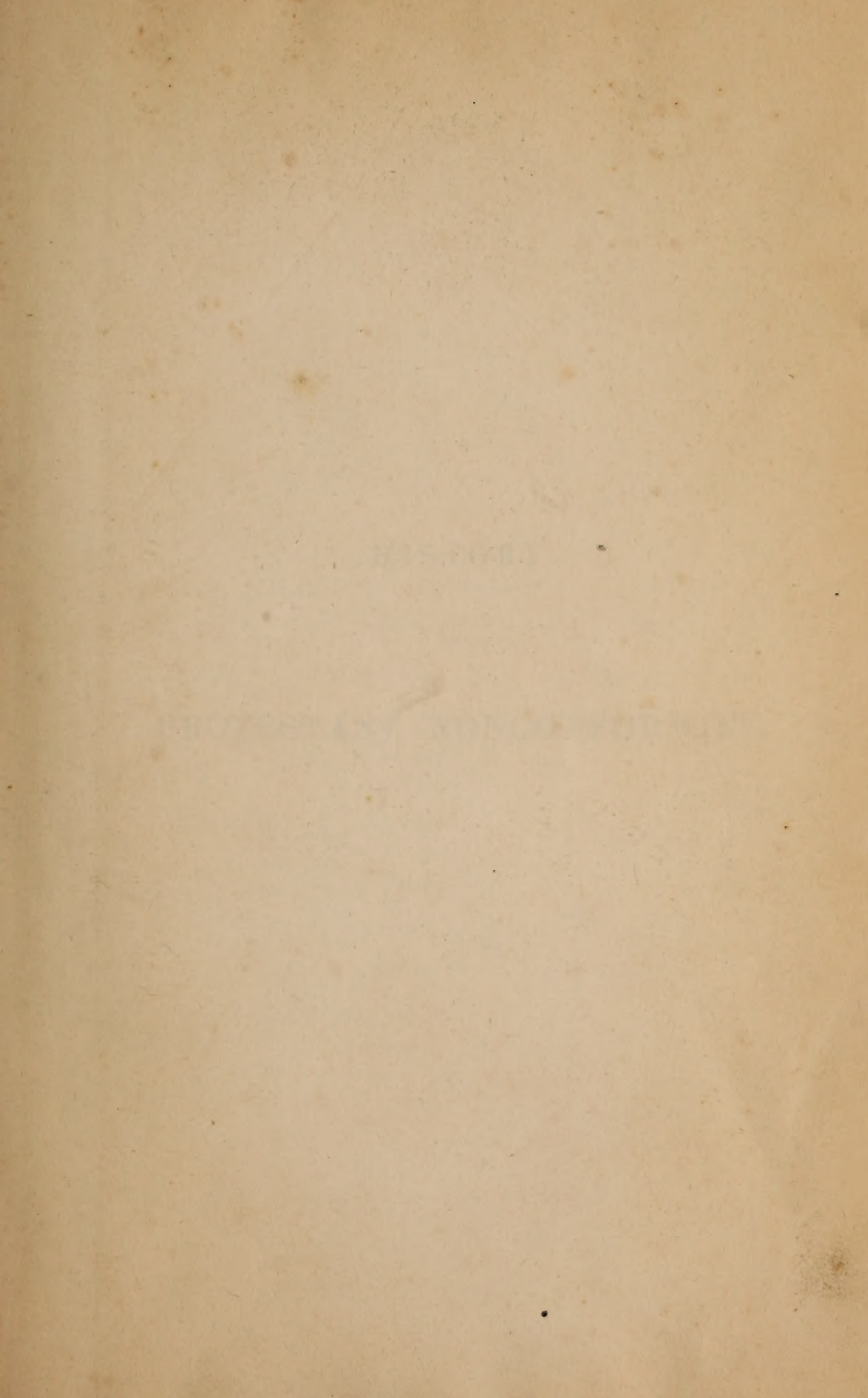


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PROTESTANT

THE HISTORY OF THE

PROTESTANT

BY JAMES

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

No. 10. 1838

THE

HISTORY

OF

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY

IN ENGLAND,

FROM

• THE REFORMATION UNDER HENRY VIII.

✓
BY THOMAS PRICE, D.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:—WILLIAM BALL,

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1838.

HISTORY

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY

IN ENGLAND

AND

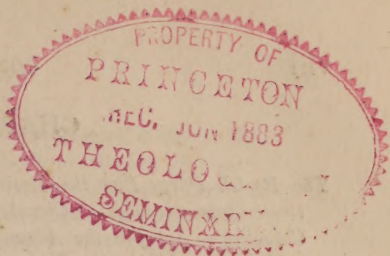
WELSH

THE REFORMATION IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

BY THOMAS WILKINSON, M.A.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY J. HADDON, CASTLE-STREET,
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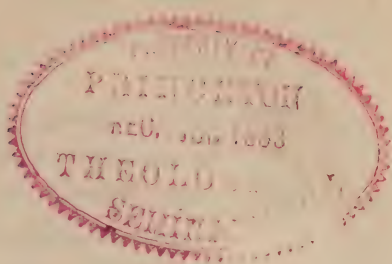
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THE
HISTORY
OF
PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY.

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HENRY VIII.

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THE Reformation of religion in the sixteenth century is one of the most memorable transactions which the annals of mankind record. It stands out from the ordinary course of events, as an epoch in the history of the human mind to which there is nothing parallel since the origin of Christianity. Resulting from causes which had been long in operation, it extended beyond the most sanguine

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The Reforma-
tion.

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hope of its first promoters. It commenced apparently in accidental circumstances, and was consequently regarded with indifference by those who were most interested in its suppression. Too intent on the promotion of their ambitious and criminal schemes; or too ignorant of the nature of man to form an enlightened estimate of the influences which determine his conduct; they failed to recognize the secret causes which had shaped the course, and were daily giving a character of increased decision to the movements, of Luther. They regarded his opposition to the mission of Tetzels as but an indication of the jealousy of his order. Such contentions between the different orders of the Roman church had been too frequent to induce much concern. They had hitherto excited but little notice. The authority of the pontiff had been equally respected by both parties; while some point of precedence, some question of privilege, some subtle and scarcely definable dogma, however important it might appear to excited and interested disputants, was too trifling to engage general attention. It had therefore been the usual policy of the Papacy to remain a silent spectator of such contests. The exertion of its authority was reserved for more important occasions; when it interposed with a promptitude and energy which invariably compassed its end.

Causes of.

But in the case of Luther there were causes in operation, of which neither himself nor Leo was a competent judge. The most sagacious observer might well have been deceived in estimating the character and probable results of his undertaking. He was but the voice of the public mind; the development of a feeling which had been in-

creasingly prevalent for generations past. The Reformation was an effect as well as a cause; it resulted from the operation of influences which had been daily gathering strength throughout Europe. The tendency of events had occasionally been checked; the waters of the advancing tide had been thrown back; but they uniformly returned with augmented power, carrying on their bosom the seeds of a moral renovation, which they were destined to scatter through the earth.

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The revival of learning, and the invention of the art of printing, had given a new impetus to the human mind. Arousing itself, like a strong man after sleep, it began to look around with an inquisitive and penetrating eye. Ancient boundaries were overstept; the landmarks which pointed out the limits of former research were despised as the memorials of barbarian ignorance; and an appeal was prosecuted from the decisions of authority, to the nature of man, and the obvious purposes of human society. An extensive alteration was immediately effected in the habits of human thought. The intellect of man asserted its supremacy: it rose to an elevation, from which it could take a wide and enlightened survey of the complicated interests of life. The master spirits of the age soon proclaimed their deliverance from an irrational and degrading bondage, and called on the nations of Europe to assert the dignity of their nature, and to restore the purity of their faith. The reformers of the church were preceded by the restorers of learning. The seeds of intellectual renovation had been widely scattered, and had borne much fruit, before Luther and his associates appeared. The public mind of

Revival of
learning.

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Europe was in consequence prepared to respond to their call. Religious reformers had previously appeared ; but, in the supineness and ignorance of their contemporaries, they encountered obstacles which no diligence or zeal could surmount. But when the Saxon monk reprobated the impiety and despotism of Rome ; when he raised the standard of revolt against a power which had uniformly crushed its opponents for a thousand years past, he was sustained by the almost universal conviction of the public mind, that that power was abused in its exercise, if not illegal in its nature. The human mind was not then in the stagnant and quiescent state in which it had been ; its faculties were aroused and pushed into action ; it was prepared to listen to Luther's statements, and to yield itself to the stirring influences with which they were fraught.

England prepared for the Reformation.

The Reformation had made considerable progress in Germany, and other parts of Europe, before its character was extensively known in England. This country, however, was not wholly unprepared for its reception ; though the character of the monarch, the wealth of the clergy, and the severity of the laws against heretics, greatly reduced the probability of its successful diffusion. Upwards of a century and a half before the time of Luther, Wycliffe had exposed the superstition and despotism of Rome. Born in the early part of the fourteenth century, he anticipated the discoveries of his more fortunate successors ; and laboured with an assiduity and rectitude of purpose, which entitle him to the admiration and gratitude of posterity.^a Though his labours did

^a Wycliffe strenuously maintained there were but two classes of officers appointed by the legislation of Christ. "By the ordi-

not effect an alteration in the ecclesiastical polity of his country, they made an extensive and permanent impression. A numerous class of followers were raised up by the providence of God: these preserved the precious seed of the kingdom until more propitious days; and, though assailed by the fiercest persecutions, were enabled to hand down the sacred deposit to the times of the Lutheran reformation.^b

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The success which attended Wycliffe's labours aroused the jealous and intolerant spirit of the popish clergy. In conformity with their usual practice, they availed themselves of the secular aid, by inviting the sword of the magistrate to subdue or exterminate the enemies of the church. The propriety of punishing capitally for matters of opinion had long been recognized in the papal code; and the history of Europe had afforded many instances of atrocity occurring under the operation of this principle. In the year 1382, being two years prior to the death of Wycliffe, an act, entitled, "An act to commission sheriffs to apprehend preachers of heresy and their abettors," &c., was surreptitiously obtained by

Early statutes
against here-
tics.

Richard II.

nance of Christ," he says, "priests and bishops were all one. But afterwards the emperor divided them, and made bishops lords, and priests their servants; and this was the cause of envy, and quenched much charity." In another place he observes, "I boldly assert one thing, viz., that in the primitive church, or in the time of Paul, two orders of the clergy were sufficient; that is, a priest and a deacon. In like manner I affirm, that, in the time of Paul, the presbyter and bishop were names of the same office."—Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, vol. ii., p. 275.—2 Ed.

^b The disciples of Wycliffe were termed Lollards, and were found in most parts of the kingdom. Knighton, a canon of Leicester, and a contemporary of Wycliffe, tells us, that in the year 1382, "Their number very much increased, and that, starting like saplings from the root of a tree, they were multiplied, and filled every place within the compass of the land." This language must undoubtedly be understood with some limitation; but we cannot mistake the inference to be drawn from it.—Ibid., p. 154.

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the clergy. In the following year the House of Commons petitioned the king, that, "Forasmuch as that statute was made without their consent, and never authorized by them; and as it never was their meaning to bind themselves or their successors to the prelates, no more than their ancestors had done before them; they prayed the aforesaid statute might be repealed." To this the king consented; but by the artifice of the bishops the knowledge of this fact was suppressed; so that, the former act being retained in the statute book, the prosecutions were continued as before.^c

Some years afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans were empowered by the king "to arrest all who should obstinately preach or maintain, publicly or privately, any conclusions of the holy Scriptures, repugnant to the determinations of the church." Such offenders were so to be treated, "that the sharpness of their pains may give them sufficient cause to return to the lap again of their holy mother the church."^d On the death of Richard, the clergy obtained additional power, of which they promptly availed themselves. Having assisted Henry the Fourth in usurping the crown, they were rewarded by the grateful monarch with power to punish capitally such of the Lollards as refused to recant. "Immediately on his accession, Henry proclaimed himself the protector of the church against the assaults of the Lollards. In the first convocation held during his reign, his intentions were made known to the clergy by a royal message. At the opening of the second, the king's commissioners, the earl of Nor-

Henry IV.

^c Parl. Hist., i. 177. Burnet's Reform., i. 41. ^d Fox, i. 574.

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I.HENRY
VIII.

thumberland, and Erpingham the lord chamberlain, exhorted the prelates and proctors to take measures for the suppression of the errors disseminated by the itinerant preachers; and promised them the royal favour and assistance in the pursuit of so necessary an object. In the parliament which began to sit at the same time, the king's intention to support the established church was announced from the throne; and the commons, in their address, thanked him for his solicitude in favour of the doctrine, and his determination to preserve the liberties, of the church."^e In the second year of his reign a law was passed, the preamble of which sets forth, that unauthorized preachers go about teaching heretical doctrines, holding conventicles, &c.; and it provides that the bishop shall have power to arrest all persons suspected of such offences, and, in case of conviction, to punish them with imprisonment, and a fine to the king. It then enacts, that if the persons so convicted shall refuse to renounce their doctrines, &c., or if, after abjuration, they relapse, they shall be delivered over to the civil power, to be burnt in some public place before the people.^f

So fearfully rapid is the progress of persecution, when its principle is once admitted. The inefficacy of milder expedients wounds the pride and ruffles the temper of the dominant party. Obstinacy is alleged as the cause of resistance; and a course of measures

^e Lingard's Hist., iv. 443.

^f Burnet's Reform., i. 41. William Sautre was the first who suffered under this statute. "As king Henry the Fourth," says Fox, "was the first of all English kings that began the unmercifull burning of Christ's saints, for standing

against the Pope; so was this William Sautre, the true and faithfull martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliffe's time, which I find to be burned in the raigne of the foresaid king, which was in the year of our Lord 1400."—Fox, i. 590.

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I. is at length adopted, which contemplates the de-
struction rather than the rescue of the offender.

HENRY
VIII. The Convocation kept pace with the Parliament
in the career of persecution. A series of regulations,
Arundel's called Arundel's Constitutions, were adopted at this
Constitutions period by the former body, which breathe a spirit
of intolerance worthy of the darkest age of popery.
They enact, that no man shall preach without the li-
cense of his ordinary; and pass a sentence of interdict
on all churches receiving heretical teachers. They
prohibit schoolmasters from inculcating religious
opinions on their pupils; require that all books written
by Wycliffe and his disciples should be banished
from schools, halls, hospitals, and other places; and
forbid the translation of any portion of Scripture
into the vernacular tongue, or the questioning any
of the articles contained in the decretals and con-
stitutions of the church. These, with various other
points, were determined by the clergy; and reso-
lutions were passed, to institute the strictest inquiry
after persons suspected of heretical opinions, whom
it was decreed to prosecute with the utmost rigour.^g
Such a series of resolutions, passed under such
circumstances, could not fail to produce much
suffering. They were not permitted to remain a
dead letter: the clergy were active in carrying out
their spirit, and thus further alienated the more
thoughtful part of the community from the esta-
blished church. "Who would have thought," says
Fox, when concluding his account of these events,
"by these laws and constitutions, so substantially
founded, so circumspectly provided, so diligently
executed, but that the name and memory of this

^g Fox, i. 597.

persecuted sect should have been utterly rooted up, and never could have stood? And yet, such be the works of the Lord, passing all men's admiration, all this notwithstanding, so far was it off that the number and courage of these good men was vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in registers recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the king and catholic fathers did so greatly detest for hereticks, were in diverse countries of this realm dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsbury, in Calais, and diverse other quarters."^h

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In the early part of the reign of Henry the Fifth, Henry V. the clergy excited the king to prosecute the Lollards still more rigorously. Twelve inquisitors—for this fearful name was already introduced—were commissioned by the archbishop Arundel to search after heretics and the books of Wycliffe. They examined the writings of the reformer and his associates, and deduced thence 246 articles, which they reported as contrary to the doctrines of the church. These articles were submitted to a Convocation, where it was decreed, "That it would be impossible to extirpate the doctrines of Wicliffe, unless certain great men, who were the professed abettors and maintainers of them, were taken off; that sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham, being the chief of them, should be first dealt withal; and that without delay a process should be issued out against him, as a most notorious heretic."ⁱ

These proceedings of the Convocation were followed up by the Parliament, which assembled April

^h Fox, i. 600.

ⁱ Parl. Hist., i. 323. Fox, i. 636.

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VIII.

30th, 1414. A very severe law was passed against the Lollards, which enacted, "That whoever read the Scriptures in English, which was then called 'Wickliffe's learning,' should forfeit land, cattle, goods, and life, and be condemned as hereticks to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary, though this was a privilege then granted to the most notorious malefactors; and that if they continued obstinate, or relapsed after pardon, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God."^k

Sufferings of
the Lollards
favourable to
their cause.

The cruelty of such a statute was only equalled by its profanity. It was an open and deliberate attempt, mainly prompted by the clergy, to extinguish the light of divine truth. But the fierceness of their intolerance counteracted their design. It is one of the laws of the divine government, that the suffering which moral evil engenders leads to its correction. There is a point beyond which oppression is not endured; where humanity, though enfeebled, claims redress, and exhibits a strength of resistance on which neither despotism nor bigotry had calculated. The sufferings inflicted on the Lollards secured them the sympathy of the people. They who were careless about the dogmas of the church, were offended by the persecuting spirit of the clergy. A

^k Parl. Hist., i. 324. It is worthy of notice, that this very parliament, so famed in the annals of persecution, contemplated the application of the lands and possessions of the church to the service of the state. This would probably have taken effect, had it not been for the policy of Chicheley, the archbishop of Canter-

bury. Referring to the bill introduced on this occasion, the chronicler Hall says, "This bill made the fat abbots to sweat; the proud priors to frown; the poor priors to curse; the silly nuns to weep; and, indeed, all her merchants to fear that Babel would down."—Parl. Hist., i. 324.

secret suspicion of the integrity of their cause, and the honesty of their motives, was widely diffused. The public mind was gradually alienated from them, and became at length prepared to acquiesce in the violent changes which the caprice of Henry dictated. The dying martyr inflicted a more serious blow on the hierarchy, than the most active and zealous of its living opponents. It is difficult, if not impossible, to gain a nation's attention to abstract principles: men are so immersed in the ordinary pursuits of life, as to regard such matters with indifference; but their hearts are ever accessible to those sympathetic emotions which the perception of suffering awakens. It is thus that an all-wise Providence educes good from evil, making even the sufferings of the virtuous the most efficient means of diffusing their principles. The partial reformation effected by Henry was not wrought out of due time. "The nation must have been fully ripe for such a change, when it could be accomplished with so much safety by a prince possessing so little to endear him to his subjects as Henry the Eighth."¹

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This monarch ascended the throne in April, 1509, in the eighteenth year of his age. His attachment to the papacy was undoubted, while his impetuous and despotic character precluded the hope of his permitting any alteration of the established institutions of the land. England had for several centuries been one of the strong-holds of popery. Immense sums were annually transmitted to Rome; and the power of the clergy had attained so fearful a height, as to threaten the destruction of

State of the
English
church on the
accession of
Henry VIII.

¹ Vaughan's Wycliffe, ii. 362.

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I.HENRY
VIII.

civil freedom. Efforts had not been wanting on the part of many to restrain their avarice and power; but they were of little effect: the public mind was so superstitious and ignorant, as to preclude the possibility of presenting an effectual barrier to the encroachments of Rome. The statutes of the realm remained in many cases a dead letter, through the want of popular sanction; and the Pope's emissaries were thus encouraged to extend their authority, and increase their demands. The principal livings of the kingdom were given by the pontiff to foreign divines, who were ignorant of the language, and never trod the soil. All the arrangements of the church were based on mercenary principles, and became at length so obviously vicious, as to awaken the disgust and indignation of all. During the early part of his reign, Henry emulated the zeal of his most persecuting predecessors. The progress of the Lutheran reformation on the continent served to quicken the vigilance, and envenom the zeal, of the English clergy. Aroused from their supineness by the rumours of change which were perpetually brought to their shores, they put the machinery of persecution into active and deadly operation. They were especially solicitous to prevent the importation of the writings of Luther. But their utmost efforts failed to compass their design. A thousand channels of communication were opened between the English mind and the productions of the Saxon reformer. His works silently circulated through the land; and found a multitude of minds prepared and anxious for their reception. The commercial intercourse of this country with

the continent afforded innumerable facilities for the introduction of the reformed faith, of which the zeal then enkindled readily took advantage.

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His zeal for
the papacy.

Henry was not slow in taking measures to guard his subjects from the contagious spirit which was abroad. The laws against heresy were enforced with rigour; many were imprisoned, and some burnt. Fear operated extensively in the case of those who were first apprehended; and several, in consequence, abjured. But the Lollards—for so the reformers were then termed—gradually gained courage, and at length maintained at the stake the principles they had privately embraced. The slightest deviation from the faith or practice of the church was sufficient to bring them under the inflictions of a persecuting code. “If a man had spoken but a light word against any of the constitutions of the church, he was seized on by the bishop’s officer; and if any taught their children the Lord’s prayer, the ten commandments, and the apostles’ creed, in the vulgar tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the stake; as it did six men and a woman at Coventry in the passion-week, 1519, being the 4th of April.”^m So zealous was the king on behalf of the papacy, that he entered the arena of theological controversy with Luther, by publishing a work on the *Seven Sacraments*.ⁿ Henry was not wholly unskilled in scholastic theology. Thomas Aquinas had been his favourite author in early life; and his vanity now prompted

^m Burnet’s Reform., i. 50.

ⁿ The genuineness of this work is matter of dispute. Bishop Burnet inclines to the negative of the question; in which he has been supported by respectable writers.

“No doubt,” he says, “this book was wrote by the king, as other books were under his name; that is, by his bishops or other learned men. Sir Thomas More, who must have known the author,

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him to take part in those momentous discussions which were shaking the foundations of the popedom.

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His work was presented to the Pope in full consistory by Dr. Clarke, dean of Windsor, with an assurance, that as his master had refuted the errors of Luther with his pen, so he was ready to oppose his disciples with his sword. Leo was profuse in his expressions of admiration and gratitude; and, in a private letter to the king, tells him, "that it appeared that the Holy Ghost assisted him in writing it." Henry looked for something more than mere acknowledgments as a reward for his service; he wished to rival the kings of France and Spain in his titles as well as in his power. The former had long borne the appellation of "Most Christian," and the latter that of "Catholic." The title, therefore, of "Defender of the Faith," was conferred on Henry by a formal bull, and the grant was confirmed by Leo's successor, Clement VII.^o So short-sighted are the most sagacious and profound politicians: unmindful of the waywardness of human nature, they calculate on the permanence of its views, and are consequently exposed to chagrin and disappointment when it experiences any of those innumerable revolutions to which it is incident. It was not unnatural that the clergy

gives this account of it: 'That after it was finished by his grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter out, and placer of the principal matters therein contained.' So it seems others were makers, and sir Thomas More only a sorter. By the style, it was guessed by some to be wrote by Erasmus."—Burnet's Reform., i. 51. After all, the probability is that the basis of the work was

supplied by Henry: his proneness to theological disputations favours this opinion; while his explicit assertion of the fact, in his reply to Luther's answer, requires an admission to this extent. Had it been wholly the work of others, the king would scarcely have ventured so open an assertion of his authorship.—Lingard's England, vi. 142.

^o Burnet's Reform., iii. 27.—Lingard's England, vi. 143.

should magnify the king as another Solomon: their joy knew no bounds; and their most incredulous moments never gave birth to the thought, that they should have to retract their praise, or regret its utterance. But such is the maze amid which an overruling Providence guides the course of human affairs. Luther replied to the king's book with all the vehemence and acrimony of which his nature was capable. Instead of being daunted by the rank of his opponent, he took courage from it: it was not in his nature to shrink from such an encounter; and the freedom and virulence of his style, while it offended the vanity of Henry, gave umbrage to some of his own friends. The illustrious rank of his antagonist drew attention to the controversy, and thus subserved the interests of truth. At a subsequent period, he attempted to excuse his asperity and want of respect, in a style not altogether befitting his general character. In a letter to the king, he says, "Because from good witnesses he had learned that that book, set forth against him under the king's name, was not indeed the king of England's book, as cunning sophisters would pretend, abusing the name of his majesty. But he now was ashamed, he said, to lift up his eyes to his majesty, who had suffered himself by that credulity to be moved against so great a king, by means of those evil workers; especially since he himself was but *fæx et vermis*, dregs and a worm, in comparison to so great a king."^p

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VIII.

Sept 1525.

^p Strype's Memorials, i. 92. This very letter of apology contains some passages which must have been singularly offensive to Henry. Wolsey at this time was in the height of his master's fa-

vour; yet Luther absurdly terms him, "illud monstrum et publicum odium Dei et hominum, Cardinalis Eboracensis, pestis illa regni tui." "Among the many strange things," says Mr. Hallam,

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Commission
to search after
Luther's
works.
May 14th,
1521.

The zeal of the king was further displayed by a commission which Wolsey issued to all the bishops, requiring them diligently to search after any books, written or printed, of Martin Luther's or his disciples. Notice was to be given in church, at mass-time, that whoever had such books should deliver them up to the bishop or his officer within fifteen days, under the pain of incurring the greater excommunication. The wording of this commission is expressive of the strongest detestation of the doctrines of Luther. The bishops are enjoined to do their part, "before those damnable and pestiferous errors and heresies, broached by Luther, took place in this kingdom; lest they should take root as a noxious briar here: and that, by the express will and command of the most potent and illustrious prince, required him (Wolsey), with all possible endeavour, to root out and abolish this heresy from this his noble kingdom."¹

Tyndale's
New Testa-
ment.

1526.

These efforts, however, proved unavailing. The writings of the Saxon reformer were imported in large numbers, and read with that avidity and delight which usually accompany a forbidden gratification. At length the New Testament was translated into English by William Tyndale, and printed at Antwerp, whence it found its way through a thousand channels into the heart of this country. A prohibition was immediately published by every bishop, declaring that some of Luther's followers had erroneously translated the New Testament, corrupting it by a false rendering and by heretical

"which Luther said and wrote, I know not one more extravagant than this letter, which almost justifies the supposition, that there

was a vein of insanity in his very remarkable character."—Constitutional Hist., i. 81.

¹ Strype's Mem., i. 56.

glosses; and requiring, therefore, all within their several dioceses to bring such copies of this work as were in their possession to the vicar-general within thirty days, under the pain of excommunication.^q Many other books, most of them written by Tyndale, were prohibited at the same time.

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Sir Thomas More, one of the most celebrated men in English history, undertook to answer some of them; but so deeply was his exalted and, for the most part, benevolent mind tinctured with the superstition of the age, that he would not commence their examination till he had obtained a license from the bishop.^r The publication of the New Testament materially aided the progress of the Reformation. The appeal was thus transferred from authority to reason. The inspired record was laid open to general inspection, and though partial errors were sometimes committed in the interpretation of its contents, yet the feeblest intellect was found equal to the application of its rules to the ordinary practice of life. A gross deception was proved to have been

Sir T. More
writes against
the Reformers

March 7, 1527.

^q Burnet's Reform., i. 51.

^r Lewis's Trans., p. 67. It is much to be regretted, for the honor of human nature, that More ever appeared in the character of a persecutor. He was one of the most amiable, talented, and virtuous men of his day; yet such was the corrupting influence of a false religion on his heart, that his generous nature did not recoil from acts of barbarity when their infliction was demanded by the church. In early life, More had given promise of better things. In his Utopia, written about the year 1516, he advocates the widest toleration. "On the ground that a man can-

not make himself believe what he pleases, the Utopians," he says, "do not drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threats, so that men are not tempted there to lie or disguise their opinions." From these principles, however, he swerved at the very time when he might have most successfully advocated them, and has thus sullied one of the most perfect and highly-gifted characters which history supplies. Sir James Mackintosh's sketch of the life of this illustrious man is amongst the most philosophical and bewitching pieces of biography in our language.

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practised on the human mind, and a feeling of indignation followed the discovery. The Scriptures were generally interpreted with that sort of prejudice with which we listen to the evidence of a witness whom the opposite party has endeavoured to keep out of court. Few, probably, in these times commenced the reading of Tyndale's Testament without a secret persuasion that its contents were unfriendly to the authority, wealth, or morals of the clergy; and this persuasion, to whatever extent it existed, could not fail to influence the interpretation of particular passages.*

Change in the
policy of the
king.

Events speedily conspired to change the whole policy of the king. Hitherto he had been a most

* "The book that had the greatest authority and influence, was Tindal's translation of the New Testament, of which the bishops made great complaints, and said it was full of errors. But Tonsal, then bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do nobody any hurt, yet endeavoured, as he could, to get their books into his hands; so, being at Antwerp in the year 1529, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tindal's translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favorer of Tindal, told him what the bishop proposed. Tindal was very glad of it; for being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it; so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheap-

side. This had such a hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the word of God, that people, from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety between that book and the doctrines of those who so handled it; by which both their prejudice against the clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament, was increased. So that next year, when the second edition was finished, many were brought over, and Constantine (a coadjutor of Tindal) being taken in England, the lord chancellor, in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and supported him at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest encouragement they had was from the bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned bishop in it."—Burnet's Reform., i. 260.

dutiful and zealous son of the church, and was distinguished by marks of her special favor. No monarch in Europe appeared more unlikely to secede from her communion, much less to erect the standard of a separate and hostile faith. As his course of policy had hitherto been most respectful to the papacy, so his character was destitute of every moral quality which gave promise of a religious reformer. It would be difficult to point to an individual, in the long line of English monarchs, who appeared, at the commencement of his reign, less likely to be the agent of such a revolution as Henry effected. His character was a compound of the worst passions which degrade the nature of man, and only fails to awaken universal disgust by the deception practised on us by the festive and martial bearing of his early years. "It may be truly said that Henry, as if he had intended to levy war against every various sort of natural virtue, proclaimed, by the executions of More and of Anne, that he henceforth bade defiance to compassion, affection, and veneration. A man without a good quality would perhaps be in the condition of a monster in the physical world, where distortion and deformity in every organ seem to be incompatible with life; but, in these two direful deeds, Henry perhaps approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness as the infirmities of human nature will allow."[†]

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The circumstances which gave rise to a change of policy on the part of the king are well known to every reader of English history. After a marriage of twenty years with Catherine of Arragon, the

Scruples respecting his marriage.

[†] Sir J. Mackintosh's Hist. of Eng., ii. 205.

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Applies to the
pope for a di-
vorce.
1527.

widow of his elder brother, prince Arthur, he professed to regard the connexion with religious scruples, as contrary to the divine law, and dangerous to his salvation." His scruples were ostensibly grounded on the Levitical code, which, it was alleged, prohibited the marriage of a brother's widow; but there is reason to suspect that Catherine's age and want of personal charms had more to do with the king's state of mind than any suggestion of his conscience. It is notorious that his solicitude about a divorce from the queen became intimately blended with a passion for Anne Boleyn, one of her maids of honor. Having obtained the concurrence of some of his principal officers, Dr. Knight was dispatched to Rome with instructions to prepare the way for an application to the pope for a divorce. The king appears to have calculated on the success of his negociation, and was deeply mortified at the evasive and tortuous policy of the supreme pontiff. Clement, it must be admitted, was placed in a situation of extreme difficulty. The

" Catherine was married to prince Arthur at St. Paul's, on the 14th of November, 1501, and was left a widow on the 2nd of April following. Henry the Seventh, being still desirous of cementing the union between England and Spain, and being somewhat further influenced, it is probable, by the large dowry of two hundred thousand ducats which were given with the infant, then obtained a bull from the pope, permitting her marriage with his second son, prince Henry. In the Hardwicke papers, i. 13, there is an account of the celebration of this ceremony in 1503, when the prince was only about twelve years of age. Serious scruples were entertained at the time by some of the

king's advisers, respecting the propriety of this marriage; and the prince himself, on attaining the age of fourteen, at the command of his father, entered a protest against it, and declared his intention not to confirm it. On his own accession, prudential considerations appear to have induced Henry to renew his marriage with Catherine, from which period he lived with her as his wife. These circumstances should be borne in mind, as an act of justice to Henry; more especially as his character must dispose every benevolent mind to put the worst construction on his actions.—Burnet's Reform., i. 54—57. Hallam's Const. Hist., i. 82.

king's suit was opposed by the emperor Charles V., the nephew of the English queen, whose power the pope had recently felt, and whose vengeance was threatened in case of the divorce being granted. His territories were much more contiguous to the papal states than were those of Henry, and his active and martial character left no room to doubt of his severely avenging any insult offered to his aunt. The whole machinery of European politics was set in play by the opposing monarchs to secure a favourable decision. At one time Henry thought himself on the point of succeeding, at another time he cursed the perfidiousness of the pope. Various expedients were resorted to by Clement to procrastinate his decision, and thus gain the advantage of any circumstances which might occur. At length it was suggested to the king that an appeal to the Universities and learned men of Europe might determine the matter in his favor, and release him from the wearisome suit he was prosecuting at Rome.^v He readily adopted the suggestion; and his emissaries, proceeding to the most celebrated seats of learning throughout Europe, solicited the suffrages of their members on his behalf. More difficulty was experienced in England than on the continent. At Oxford and Cambridge the question of the divorce was connected with the

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Appeals to
the univer-
sities, &c.

^v This suggestion proceeded from Dr. Cranmer, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Being at Waltham Abbey in Essex, he was casually introduced to Fox and Gardner, the almoner and secretary of the king, who requested his opinion on the divorce, which they subsequently reported to their master, at Greenwich. This happened about August,

1529. Cranmer was, in consequence, sent for by the king, and was placed in the family of Sir Thomas Boleyn, recently created earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. He was soon employed in various embassies in France, Italy, and Germany; and manifested such zeal in Henry's cause, as insured his rapid preferment. Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, i. 5.

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reformation, and became in consequence more complex and difficult of settlement. But Henry was not likely to tolerate opposition from his own subjects: intimations of no equivocal kind were conveyed to the university of Oxford, which at length procured a determination in his favor.^w From the continent, more particularly from France, numerous judgments were obtained favorable to his cause, which were presented by the Lord Chancellor to the House of Commons, and were subsequently printed.^x

Jan. 1530-1.

Divorce pronounced by Cranmer.

May 23, 1533.

May 28.

Upwards of five years were employed by Henry in negotiating with the papal court. Wearied at length with its procrastination, he ordered Cranmer to pronounce the sentence of divorce. The Archbishop accordingly declared the marriage of the King with the lady Catherine null and void; and on his return to Lambeth, he confirmed the marriage of Henry with Ann Boleyn, which had been privately solemnized by Dr. Lee some months before.^y This step precipitated the king into a course of measures hostile to the papacy. During

^w Bishop Burnet will not admit that threatenings were employed with the university of Oxford. Few, however, will be of his opinion, who read attentively the three letters which the king addressed to that body, and which the bishop has printed.—Hist. of Reform., iv. 429.

^x Burnet endeavours to disprove the charge of bribery, but without success. The medium opinion of Sir James Mackintosh seems to be best sustained: "That money was plentifully distributed, seems to be certain; but that the apparent consent of all the learned catholics, who gave an opinion relating to this affair, was chiefly purchased by the distribu-

tion of bribes, is an assertion improbable in itself, and which would redound more to the dishonour of the established church than most of the charges made against her by the hottest zealots of reformation."—Hist. of England, ii. 160.

^y It is much to be regretted that so respectable a historian as Dr. Lingard should have permitted a party spirit to pervert his views. His account of Anne Boleyn is as unworthy of his sagacity as it is discreditable to his candour; and must destroy much of the confidence which, in other cases, we might be disposed to exercise in his fidelity and discrimination.

the latter part of his negociations at Rome, he had endeavoured to arouse the fears of Clement, by some decided measures adapted to humble the spirit, and diminish the authority, of the English clergy. It had been suggested by his advisers, that the most distant fear of losing England would determine the vacillating policy of the vatican. The present state of ecclesiastical affairs rendered the subjection of this country more important to the pope than ever. His authority was successfully assailed both in Germany and Switzerland, and the spirit of revolt was known to extend throughout the European community. Nothing seemed wanting to the complete destruction of the popedom, but the defection of some leading monarch; and Henry ventured to intimate, in his official communications, that he should be driven to this step if justice were not done to him. But the threatenings and promises of Charles the Fifth counterbalanced these intimations, and thus led to the rupture which freed England from subjection to the pope. When the proceedings of Henry were reported at Rome, the pope was entreated by the emperor to do justice to his claims, and avenge the insult offered to the church. But the influence of the French king was employed to moderate the resentment of Clement, who at length annulled the sentence pronounced by Cranmer, and declared Henry and Anne excommunicated, unless they should separate by the end of September.^z Hopes were subsequently entertained of an amicable arrangement; but the definitive sentence of the pope, in favor of Catherine, proved a declaration of interminable war.

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VIII.Influence of
this step on
the ecclesi-
astical policy
of Henry.

July 11.

^z Lingard's Hist., iv. 260.

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VIII.

Measures
hostile to the
papacy.

1531.

In the mean time, measures had been rapidly proceeding in England. In the parliament of 1530, several bills were passed for the correction of clerical abuses; one against exactions on probates of wills; another for the regulation of mortuaries; and a third, respecting pluralities, non-residence, &c. Severe reflections were thrown out on the clergy; and the bishop of Rochester was reprehended in the upper house, for the censure he had passed on the language of the commons.^a In the following year, a still more important and decided step was taken by the king. Cardinal Wolsey having incurred the penalties of a *premunire* by the exercise of his legantine authority, the whole body of the clergy were alleged to be implicated in his offence.^b By admitting his jurisdiction, they became, it was argued, his abettors, and the attorney-general was consequently ordered to file an information against them in the court of king's bench. The convocation offered to compound the matter by a present to the king of one hundred thousand pounds, which he refused, unless an acknowledgment of his being "supreme head of the church and clergy of England" were introduced into the preamble of the grant. The majority of the clergy were averse from this proposition, but ultimately acceded to it, with

^a Parl. Hist., i. 501. Burnet's Reform., i. 133.

^b These proceedings against Wolsey and the clergy were founded on an obsolete statute of Richard the Second, which ordained "that if any did purchase translations, sentences of excommunications, bulls, or other instruments from the court of Rome, against the king or his crown; or whosoever brought

them to England, or did receive or execute them; they were out of the king's protection, and that they should forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and their persons should be imprisoned." As the proceedings under this statute were to be put on a writ, called from the most material words of it, *premunire facies*, it was called the "statute of *premunire*." Burnet's Reform., i. 176.

the qualification, "so far as the law of Christ will permit." The convocation of the province of York adopted the same wary language, paying to the king the sum of eighteen thousand, eight hundred, and forty pounds, as an atonement for their offence.^c This was an important step towards securing the subjection of the clergy to the civil power, and obviously paved the way for the act of supremacy which followed shortly after.

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Various statutes were passed in the years 1533 and 1534, which gradually withdrew the church of England from subjection to the see of Rome. "Appeals to Rome" were prohibited, under the penalties of *premunire*; the clergy acknowledged that they could not adopt any constitution without the king's assent; a purely domestic election and consecration of all prelates was established; all pecuniary contributions, called Peter-pence, imposed by "the bishop of Rome, called the pope," were abolished; all lawful powers of licensing and dispensing were transferred from him to the archbishop of Canterbury; and his claims to them are called usurpations, made in defiance of the true principle, "that your grace's realm, recognizing no superior under God, but only your grace, has been, and is, free from subjection to the laws of any foreign prince, potentate, or prelate." After thus excluding foreign powers, by so strong a denial of their jurisdiction, the same statute proceeds to affirm, that "your majesty is supreme head of the church of England, as the prelates and clergy of your realm, representing the said church in their

^c Burnet's Reform., i. 182.

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synods and convocations, have recognized."^d In the following session, their enactments were confirmed by a brief but comprehensive act, which provided that the king, his heirs, &c., should be accepted and reputed the supreme head, on earth, of the church of England; enjoying all the honors, jurisdiction, profits, &c., thereto belonging, with full power to visit and correct all heresies and other abuses.^e

The majority
of the nation
adverse to the
king's mea-
sures.

This important statute effected an entire separation of the English church from the communion of Rome; and, as such, it constitutes an epoch in the history of our religious reformation. It is not to be supposed that such an act could pass without much opposition. We must not infer, from the pliancy of Henry's parliaments, that the majority of the people acquiesced in his measures. There is good reason to believe that dissatisfaction extensively prevailed, and that, had the aristocracy possessed the same bold and haughty spirit as their fathers, a different result would have been witnessed. The more active spirits of the day were in favour of the change. They sympathized with the movement that was going on, and anticipated, from the conflict of parties, and the temporary confusion of affairs, the establishment of a new and more enlightened order of things. But the mass of the population were too

^d Sir J. Mackintosh's *England*, ii. 173. It is generally supposed that this act was prompted by the definitive sentence which Clement gave against the king on the 23rd of March, 1534. But Dr. Lingard has satisfactorily shown this opinion to be erroneous. The bill abolishing the power of the pope was intro-

duced to the commons in the beginning of March, and received the royal assent on the 30th. The determination of the conclave could not, therefore, have been the cause of this decisive measure.—Lingard's *Hist.*, vi. 267.

^e *Parl. Hist.*, i. 525. Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry the Eighth*, 408.

ignorant and superstitious to appreciate the principles in operation. They were satisfied with their ancient faith. It had been the religion of their fathers, which was entrenched in the strong-holds of their affections, and confirmed in its sway by the extensive and omnipotent power it had long wielded over the minds of men. The catholic priesthood, no doubt, exerted all their influence to prejudice the king's measures in public estimation. Though but few of them possessed sufficient honesty or firmness to brave his power on behalf of their church, yet, in private, we may well believe, they did their utmost to counteract his design, and perpetuate their own authority.^f It is to their influence on an ignorant and unreflecting population that those insurrections must be attributed, which speedily broke out in different parts of the country.

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The act of supremacy did not define the limits of that ecclesiastical authority which it vested in the king. Its terms were general and somewhat vague; well adapted to the immediate purpose of its framers, but necessarily supplying a thousand occasions for misconstruction or doubt. Its object was so perfectly novel, that it would not have been surprising had it been much less complete. Ecclesiastical supremacy had hitherto been regarded as the mysterious attribute of God's vicegerent. It was the object of superstitious veneration, which to analyze was sin; to limit, the height of impiety.

Indefinite
nature of the
supremacy
vested in the
king.

^f Tonstal, Gardiner, and Bonner wrote in favour of the king's supremacy. Their subsequent history proves that in doing so they acted insincerely. The first was a temporizer, the other two were bitter persecutors. Few

men have inherited a larger portion of the detestation of mankind than Gardiner and Bonner. They added the meanness of hypocrisy to the cruelty of persecution.

CHAP. "When Henry the Eighth," says Sir James Mack-
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intosh, "was declared at the Reformation to be the supreme head of the church of England, no attempt was made to define, with any tolerable precision, the authority to be exercised by him in that character. The object of the lawgiver was to shake off the authority of the see of Rome, and to make effectual provision that all ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction should be administered, like every other part of the public justice of the kingdom, in the name and by the authority of the king. That object scarcely required more than a declaration that the realm was as independent of foreign power in matters relative to the church, as in any other branch of its legislation. That simple principle is distinctly intimated in several of the statutes passed on that occasion, though not consistently pursued in any of them. The true principles of ecclesiastical polity were then nowhere acknowledged. The court of Rome was far from admitting the self-evident truth, that all coercive and penal jurisdiction exercised by the clergy was, in its nature, a branch of the civil power delegated to them by the state, and that the church, as such, could exercise only that influence (metaphorically called authority) over the understanding and conscience, which depended on the spontaneous submission of its members. The protestant sects were not willing to submit their pretensions to the control of the magistrate; and even the reformed church of England, though the creature of statute, showed, at various times, a disposition to claim some rights under a higher title. All religious communities were at that time alike intolerant; and there was, perhaps, no man in

Europe who dared to think that the state neither possessed, nor could delegate, nor could recognize, as inherent in another body, any authority over religious opinions. Neither was any distinction made in the laws to which we have adverted, between the ecclesiastical authority which the king might separately exercise, and that which required the concurrence of parliament. From ignorance, inattention, and timidity, in regard to these important parts of the subject, arose the greater part of the obscurity which still hangs over the limits of the king's ecclesiastical prerogative, and the means of carrying it into execution."^g

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^g Hist. of the Revolution, 65.

CHAPTER II.

Elevation of Cranmer—Articles of Religion—Injunctions—Institution of a Christian Man—Necessary Erudition—Lesser Monasteries suppressed—Greater Monasteries—Erection of new Bishoprics—Bible printed—Cranmer and his Associates ignorant of the Nature of religious Liberty—The irreligious Tendencies of Popery the main Cause of their Opposition—Martyrdom of Bilney, Bayfield, and Bainham—John Frith—John Lambert—Sacramentarians and Baptists—Statute of Six Articles.

CHAP.
II.

HENRY
VIII.

Elevation of
Cranmer.

THE elevation of Cranmer to the primacy of the English church was an important step in the Reformation. It took place in the year 1533, as a reward for the zeal and ability with which he had defended the king's divorce. He appears to have accepted the distinction with reluctance, and the best friends of his reputation must regard his compliance with some degree of regret. He was destitute of that fortitude and determination of mind which so high a station required. There was little of moral heroism in his character. He was timid and vacillating; honest in his purposes, but irresolute in his conduct. The frown of the king alarmed him, while the faintest intimation of his pleasure generally secured the silence, if not the concurrence, of Cranmer. In a private station, or in a calmer age, he would have maintained an irreproachable cha-

racter; but at present he needs all the sympathy which his martyrdom inspires, to retain for him a high place in the respect of impartial men.^h Had his enemies permitted him to live after his recantation at Oxford, they would most effectually have destroyed his credit; but by committing him to the flames, they have enbalméd his memory in the grateful recollection of posterity. The decision and heroism of his last moments have a character of tragic interest which redeems much of the timidity of his previous conduct. Nothing can exceed the baseness of his persecutors, except their folly; for to their delusive and heartless policy he is mainly indebted for his present reputation.

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II.

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In the year 1536, certain *Articles of Religion* were set forth by the king, "that unity and concord in opinions, namely, in such things as do concern our religion, may increase and go forward, and all occasion of dissent and discord, touching the same, be repressed, and utterly extinguished." These Articles exhibit the progress made in the reformation of the doctrine and worship of the church. Most of the errors of popery are retained, though with some modification. Baptismal regene-

Articles of
Religion.
1536.

^h Cranmer's protest at his consecration was an unworthy act, and ought not to be defended. Our gratitude for the benefits he wrought must not render us insensible to the duplicity of this part of his conduct. Burnet's language is much too mild for the occasion, while the more recent attempt of one of Cranmer's admirers to vindicate his memory must excite the regret of every candid and impartial mind. "The question," says Mr. Hallam, "is, whether, having obtained bulls from Rome, on an express stipu-

lation that he should take a certain oath, he had a right to offer a limitation, not explanatory, but utterly inconsistent with it. We are sure that Cranmer's views and intentions, which he very soon carried into effect, were irreconcilable with any sort of obedience to the Pope; and if, under all the circumstances, his conduct was justifiable, there would be an end of all promissory obligations whatever."—*Constit. Hist.*, i. 135. Strype has supplied the protest in the Appendix to his *Life of Cranmer*, Number V., p. 683.

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ration, auricular confession, transubstantiation, reverencing of images, prayer to departed saints, and a belief in purgatory, were all enforced; while the doctrine of justification was obscured by the efficacy attributed to "contrition and faith joined with charity." These Articles were subscribed by Cranmer and seventeen bishops; together with many abbots, priors, archdeacons, and proctors. They afford little satisfaction in themselves, but were adapted to encourage the hope of further reformation. The Scriptures and ancient creeds are substituted in the place of tradition and popish decrees, and some approach is made to a scriptural exhibition of the leading doctrines of Christianity.ⁱ

Certain injunctions were shortly after addressed

ⁱ An abstract of these Articles is furnished by Burnet in the first volume of his Reformation, page 346. Also by Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, vol. i., p. 58. This latter writer, in his *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 588, has confounded the *Articles* with the *Institution of a Christian Man*, a work published by authority in the following year. In the Addenda to his History, vol. iv., p. 166, Burnet has supplied the Articles themselves, with all the subscriptions. As an example of the extent to which the doctrines of Popery are modified in these Articles, I subjoin the one on Purgatory. "Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the book of Maccabees and divers ancient doctors, plainly showing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and forasmuch, also, as such usage hath continued in the church so many years, even from the beginning; we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people, committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be

grieved with the continuance of the same, and that it standeth with the very due order of charity for a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause others to pray for them in masses and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain. But, forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this, with all other things, we remit to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition; wherefore, it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced, as to make men believe that, through the Bishop of Rome's pardon, souls might clearly be delivered out of

to the clergy, in which, amongst other things, they were required to publish to the people, twice every quarter, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power had no warrant from Scripture; to dissuade them from making pilgrimages to saints, or from regarding images or relics with superstitious reverence, and to exhort them to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.ⁱ This was the first act of pure supremacy on the part of the king, and could not fail to be highly displeasing to the adherents of Rome. The clergy murmured at the authority assumed; but they knew the temper of Henry too well to offer any open resistance.

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The progress of the Reformation was further shown in a work, published by authority, entitled, *The Institution of a Christian Man*. It was drawn up by Cranmer and other divines, under a commission from the king; and was designed to supply an accredited exposition of religious truth. "Calling to our remembrance," say the prelates in their introductory address to the king, "how the whole pith and sum of all those things which be at great length contained in the whole canon of the bible, and be of necessity required to the attaining of everlasting life, was sufficiently, exactly, and therewith shortly and compendiously, comprehended in the Twelve Articles of the Common Creed, called the Apostles' Creed, in the Seven Sacraments of the Church, in the Ten Commandments, and in the prayer of our Lord, called the Pater-noster; and,

Institution of
a Christian
Man.
1537.

purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that masses said at *Scala coli*, or otherwise, in any place, or before any image, might likewise

deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven; and other like abuses."

ⁱ Burnet's Reform., i. 363.

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considering, therefore, that if your highness's people were perfectly instructed and learned in the right knowledge and understanding of the same, they should not only be able easily to perceive and understand, and also to learn by heart and bear away, the whole effect and substance of all those things which do appertain and be necessary for a Christian man, either to believe or to do, but also that all occasions might thereby be removed, which by any colour or visage have caused any of them to fall, or to be offended; we have, after long and mature consultation had amongst us, compiled a certain treatise, wherein we have employed our whole study, and have therein truly and purely set forth and declared, in our mother tongue, the very sense and meaning, and the very right use, virtue, and efficacy, of all the said four parts." This publication was established by Act of Parliament, and obtained the name of the Bishops' Book. It contained a great part of the Articles issued in the previous year, with large additions on the Creed, Ten Commandments, &c.^j

Necessary
Doctrine,
1543.

In 1543, it was republished, with some modifications favourable to popery, under the title of *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. From that period to the death of Henry, the *King's Book*, as the *Necessary Doctrine*, &c. was called, remained the standard of orthodoxy, and obtained as extensive an authority as either of its predecessors. The successive changes which the theology of the monarch had undergone, were adopted with equal indifference by his courtiers, and were too servilely followed even

^j Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 74.

by the more eminent reformers. The timidity of Cranmer probably influenced the movements of his party, and thus prevented bolder and more resolute spirits from openly resisting the ecclesiastical dogmas of the king.^k

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The monasteries of the kingdom now presented the most formidable obstacle to the king's measures. They were numerous, and richly endowed, and possessed very considerable influence over a large portion of the community. Many of their inmates ventured openly to impugn the royal proceedings. Attached by principle and interest to the papal see, they deprecated the overthrow of its supremacy, and the various alterations consequent thereon. They partook in a less degree than any other class of the community of the spirit of innovation which was abroad. Isolated from general

Dissolution of
the Monasteries.

^k Herbert's Henry the Eighth, 559. Strype's Mem., vol. i., pt. i., p. 583. The *Articles*, the *Institution*, and the *Erudition*, were republished in 1825, by Bishop Lloyd, under the title of *Formularies of Faith*, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry the Eighth.

The views of ecclesiastical orders held by the English reformers, were vastly different from those now prevalent amongst the clergy. In the chapter, for instance, on the Sacrament of Orders, in the *Necessary Doctrine*, &c., no such distinction between a bishop and a priest as has since been maintained, is even alluded to. On the contrary, this remarkable language is employed: "And of these two orders only, that is to say, priests and deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and how they were confirmed of the apostles by prayer and imposition of their hands. And to these two the primitive church did add and conjoin other

inferior and lower degrees, as subdeacons, &c. And whereas we have thus summarily declared what is the office and ministration which in Holy Scriptures hath been committed to bishops and priests, and in what things it consisteth, as is afore rehearsed, lest peradventure it might be thought to some persons that such authorities, powers, and jurisdictions, as patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and metropolitans, now have, or heretofore at any time have had, justly and lawfully, over other bishops, were given them by God in Holy Scripture; we think it expedient and necessary, that all men should be advertized and taught, that all such lawful powers and authorities of one bishop over another were and be given to them by the consent, ordinance, and positive laws of men only, and not by any ordinance of God in Holy Scripture." *Formularies of Faith*, &c., p. 281.

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society, they were ignorant of the change which was passing on the minds of men. Their views were not modified by those collisions of opinion for which the ordinary intercourse of life gives occasion, nor their judgments enlightened and rectified by an extensive observation of the bearing of different creeds. It was, therefore, soon evident to the king and his advisers, that the suppression of these institutions was necessary to the permanence of the change they had effected. Their wealth also became a powerful temptation. They were known to possess a considerable portion of the rental of the kingdom, and to be distinguished in their domestic economy by a wasteful and luxurious expenditure. The courtiers suggested that the king might be rendered permanently independent of his parliament, by appropriating the wealth of the convents to his own use; whilst Cranmer and the other reformers urged his employing this treasure in the establishment of new bishoprics and other ecclesiastical offices. Nor were examples wanted to encourage the king to act on this advice. Cardinal Wolsey had obtained bulls from the pope for the suppression of several religious houses, to aid him in founding his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich.^m A precedent was thus established, which Henry now determined to imitate. Commissioners had previously been appointed to visit the monasteries, whose report was read in parliament, when an act was passed for the suppression of the lesser houses. The preamble states, "That small religious houses, under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and abomi-

^m Burnet's Reform., i. 36. Strype's Memorials, i. i. 169.

nable living; and did much consume and waste their churches, lands, and other things, belonging to them; and that, for above two hundred years, there had been many visitations for reforming these abuses, but with no success; their vicious living increasing daily, so that, except small houses were dissolved, and the religious put into greater monasteries, there could no Reformation be expected in that matter. Whereupon it was enacted, that all houses which might spend yearly two hundred pounds, or within it, should be suppressed, and their revenues consecrated to better uses, and they compelled to reform their lives."

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By another Act passed this session, the estates belonging to these houses were vested in the crown; and a new court was erected to take cognizance of their revenues, called the Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue. Thus fell the lesser abbeys to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, by which an annual income of thirty or thirty-two thousand pounds accrued to the king, besides goods and chattels, which at a low calculation were valued at one hundred thousand pounds.ⁿ

The greater monasteries, though respited for a time, were destined to meet a similar fate. Stokesley, bishop of London, in the debate on the bill for the suppression of the minor houses, had remarked, "These lesser houses were as thorns, soon plucked up; but the great abbots were like petrified old

Dissolution of
the greater
Monasteries.

ⁿ Burnet's Reform. i. 311. Herbert's Henry the Eighth, 440. "One hundred thousand pounds (probably a million and a half of the present value) came immediately into the exchequer; thirty

thousand pounds (probably half a million according to our wages and prices) were added to the annual revenue of the crown." Sir J. Mackintosh's England, i. 212.

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May 13, 1539.

oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom, before many years were passed.”^o This was hastened by the insurrections which broke out in different parts of the country. The monks in the North of England had encouraged their tenants to join in the *pilgrimage of grace*, and thus drew upon themselves the severest displeasure of the impetuous and revengeful king. Another visitation was consequently appointed. Some of the greater abbots were induced to surrender their houses in 1538; and in the following year a bill was brought into Parliament, which provided that “all monasteries or other religious houses dissolved, suppressed, surrendered, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, or by any means come to his highness, shall be vested in him, his heirs, and successors, for ever.” “The number of monasteries dissolved,” says the editor of the Parliamentary History, “according to Speed, Stow, and Cambden, amounted to six hundred and forty-five; amongst which, twenty-seven had votes, and sat in the House of Lords, as mitred abbots. Of colleges, were dissolved, in diverse shires, ninety. Of chantries and free-chapels, some time after, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four. And of hospitals, one hundred and ten.”^p

The dissolution of the monasteries placed a large portion of the wealth of the nation at the disposal of the crown. The clear yearly value was rated at one hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and seven pounds, but is alleged by Burnet to have greatly exceeded this; the courtiers undervaluing

^o Burnet's Reform., i. 312.^p Parl. Hist., i. 537.

the estates in order to obtain them on more easy terms.^q Dr. Lingard, on the authority of Nasmith's edition of Tanner's *Notitia*, states the annual revenue of the suppressed houses at one hundred and forty-two thousand nine hundred and fourteen pounds; an immense sum, if the comparative value of money at that period be taken into account.^r Besides the annual income of these houses, they yielded a large amount of property in their goods and chattels. The moveables of the smaller monasteries were valued at one hundred thousand pounds; a sum which probably did not exceed a fourth of the aggregate value of moveable wealth thus realized.^s

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It is well for the liberty of England that Henry's political sagacity was not equal to his despotic disposition. Had he been frugal in his expenditure, he might probably have rendered himself independent of his parliaments; but the immense treasures which now flowed in upon him, were scattered with a prodigal hand. His rapacious courtiers were enriched; new blood was circulated through the languid frame of the aristocracy; and society at large was benefited. Numerous cases of

^q Hist. of Reform., i. 432.

^r Hist. of England, vi. 345.

^s Pensions were granted to the monks on the breaking up of these institutions. Dr. Lingard, who is never chargeable with exhibiting the acts of Henry's government in too favourable a light, tells us: "The pensions to the superiors appear to have varied, from two hundred and sixty-six pounds to six pounds per annum. The priors of cells received generally thirteen pounds. To the other monks were allotted pen-

sions of six, four, or two pounds, with a small sum to each at his departure, to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about four pounds. It should, however, be observed, that these sums were not in reality so small as they appear, as money was probably at that period of ten times more value than it is now. It was provided that each pension should cease as soon as the pensioner obtained church preferment of equal value." Hist. of England, vi. 341.

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oppression and suffering no doubt occurred; but the general result has been eminently beneficial.

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The policy of Henry the Seventh, and the long wars of York and Lancaster, had exhausted the wealth and depressed the spirits of the aristocracy. The natural leaders of the people were deprived of the power and inclination to render them any effectual service, in resisting the encroachments of the crown. They had sunk into mere dependants on the court; they lived from day to day on its patronage and smiles; and were more likely to aid its despotic designs, than to oppose its invasion of popular right. But a more healthy and vigorous tone was given to this body by the distribution of so large a mass of property amongst its members. An independent fortune generated an independent spirit, and thus prepared the agents of that mighty revolution which was speedily to be effected in the sentiments of the nation.

New bishop-
rics esta-
blished.

It had been given out by the king, that eighteen new bishoprics should be established with the wealth obtained by the suppression of the monasteries. It is not very probable that he ever seriously entertained the project. His policy was too rapacious and prodigal to allow of it. The scheme might serve to tranquillize his conscience, and to diminish opposition; but he was ultimately satisfied with scantily endowing six episcopal sees.¹

One of the first acts of Cranmer, on his elevation

¹ These were, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. Fourteen abbeyes and priories were also

converted into cathedral and collegiate churches. Strype's Memorials, i. i. 539. Lingard's England, vi. 347.

to the primacy, was to take measures for the translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the vernacular tongue. He began with the New Testament, an English copy of which he divided into eight or ten parts, and sent to the most learned men of his day for their correction. These were returned to Lambeth at the appointed time, with the exception of the Acts of the Apostles, which had been intrusted to Stokesley, bishop of London; who wrote to Cranmer, "I marvel what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And therefore my lord shall have this book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error."^u So perverted were the views of the dignitaries of the church, and so determined the opposition which Cranmer encountered in his labours for its reformation. His personal sense of the value of the Scriptures, and deep conviction of their importance, led him to persevere in his design, and secured his ultimate success.

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The whole bible was printed in the year 1535, by Coverdale, and again in 1537, under the fictitious name of Thomas Matthew, when it was

Bible printed.
1535.

^u Strype's Cranmer, i. 43. When Cranmer expressed his surprise at the conduct of Stokesley, we are told that Mr. Thomas Lawney, who stood by, remarked, "I can tell your grace why my lord of London will not bestow any labour or pains this way. Your grace knoweth well, that his portion is a piece of the New Testament; but he, being

persuaded that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it mere madness to bestow any labour or pains where no gain was to be gotten. And, besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles, which were simple poor fellows, and therefore my lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them." Ibid. p. 49.

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commanded by the king to be set up in all parish churches throughout the realm. The latter edition contained marginal notes, reflecting on the errors and corruptions of popery, which were suppressed in subsequent editions, when the Catholic party preponderated in the royal councils.^x The importance which Cranmer and his associates attached to the free circulation of the Scriptures was fully justified by the event. Luther by this means had successfully attacked the strong holds of popery; and the English Reformers, in imitation of his example, were now inflicting a deadly wound on the corrupt and monstrous system to which they were opposed. An exhibition of the errors of popery, however it might alienate the public mind from the ancient faith, would have answered no good purpose, had it not been connected with the unfettered publication of the divine word. Scepticism might have been promoted, and the withering influence of infidelity diffused abroad; but the religious ends which the Reformers contemplated would not have been attained. It was necessary to substitute truth for error, the word of God for the traditions of the church, in order that the benign and holy spirit of Christianity should supplant the selfish and malignant passions which had been engendered.

Cranmer and his associates ignorant of the nature of religious liberty.

The popish party now gained ground in the king's councils, and the progress of the Reformation was consequently stopped. Before attempting a detail of the measures by which they partially compassed their end, it may be necessary briefly to

^x Strype's Memor., i. i. 472. Lewis's Hist. of Eng. Transl., 105.

sketch the course of persecution with which Cranmer and his brethren were unhappily identified. This will throw light on the character of the chief actors in the scene, and help us to understand the precise position of ecclesiastical affairs. A blind party spirit has attempted to throw the whole odium of persecution on the church of Rome. The records of history, and the principles of human nature, have been alike disregarded in its indiscriminate censure and praise. The candid of all parties will regret the criminality of such an attempt, while the increasing intelligence of the age renders its folly as obvious as its guilt. The truth is, that, with very few exceptions, the first reformers were as ignorant of the true principles of religious liberty, as the most bigoted of the catholics. Though rebels themselves, they refused to allow rebellion in others; impugning the authority of Rome, they established their own; and whilst denying the infallibility of the pope, they practically asserted that of their own creeds. Cranmer possessed a more timid disposition, and a more benevolent heart, than Gardiner and Bonner; but he was not a whit before them in his knowledge of the right of private judgment and of the unfettered freedom of religious worship. It may seem strange to some, that the Reformers did not at once perceive the true ground of their own proceedings;—that they did not feel constrained, by a sense of absolute necessity, to defend their secession from Rome by asserting, in bold and unhesitating terms, their own intelligence and the spirituality of religion;—that they did not vindicate the dignity of their nature, and the ethereal temper of their faith, by exploding

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coercion as an insult to the one, and a gross outrage on the other. But when we take into account the ignorance of their times, and the influences amid which they were trained, our surprise will be awakened by the extent rather than by the scantiness of their discoveries. Important principles are of slow development. Whatever is necessary to the preservation of life, and the perpetuation of the species, is provided for by some general law of the Creator. The promptings of instinct are made to anticipate and supersede the decisions of judgment. But not so in the moral world. To the formation of character, the free exercise of thought is indispensable. The elements of knowledge are liberally supplied ; but diligence, discrimination, and fidelity are requisite to deduce from them the principles of wisdom and the lessons of piety. The mists of passion and the interests of party obscure and pervert the judgment, and thus conceal from view those celestial principles which would be readily discovered and embraced by an unbiassed intellect.

Their opposition to the papacy mainly prompted by its irreligious tendency.

The Reformers were mainly influenced, in their separation from the papacy, by the grievous injuries which its superstitions had inflicted on the human mind. This was the impelling motive, which gave its character to the whole of their proceedings. The very ardour of their zeal, as it carried them forward to the ultimate purpose of Christianity, left them no time for the prosecution of those inquiries which, however important, were not obviously connected with the main object of their efforts. Their purpose was the conversion of souls, and the purification of the church of Christ ;

and we need not be surprised, nor should our condemnation be severe, if they were so absorbed by its magnitude as to overlook inquiries of a less vital character. Their confidence in the integrity of their own views tended still further to mislead them. Instead of appealing to the principles of human nature, and to the character of religion, they vindicated their course by alleging the superiority of their sentiments. Instead of rearing a defence which might have protected themselves and their posterity, in all future times, from the assaults of spiritual intolerance, they were content to meet the exigency of the moment, by making an impression on the men of their day. Their defence was grounded on an unsound basis. Its fallacy, though not obvious at once, was speedily shown in the discussions that followed ; for each party employed it with equal confidence. The Romanist and the Protestant, Gardiner and Cranmer, retained it as common ground, on which to conduct their defence, and to vindicate their persecution of others. It was not till the puritans were subjected to the fiery ordeal through which priestly intolerance made them pass, that those immortal principles were elicited which now constitute the basis of our legislation. Amidst the strife of parties, the human intellect worked out its own salvation.

Bishop Burnet tells us, that, “during the agitation of the king’s process, there was no prosecution of the preachers of Luther’s doctrine.”^z As soon, however, as that cause was decided, severe measures were adopted to restrain the freedom of religious inquiry, and thus prevent the faith of the people

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^z Hist. of Reform., i. 260.

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from outstripping that of the monarch. "Many were brought into the bishops' courts; some for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer in English; some for reading the forbidden books; some for harboring the preachers; some for speaking against pilgrimages, or the worshipping and adoring of images; some for not observing the church fasts; some for not coming to confession and the sacrament; and some for speaking against the vices of the clergy. Most of these were simple and illiterate men; and the terror of the bishops' courts and prisons, and of a fagot in the end, wrought so much on their fears and weakness, that they generally abjured, and were dismissed."^a

Martyrdom of
Bilney, Bay-
field, & Bain-
ham.

Amongst the most eminent confessors of this period were Bilney, Bayfield, and Bainham. On their first apprehension they abjured; but subsequently avowed the reformed faith with firmness, and sealed it with their blood. The charges preferred against them were, a depreciation of the importance of pilgrimages; a denial of the propriety of praying to departed saints; an avowal of the efficacy of faith; and other similar offences.^b Latimer was

^a Burnet's Reform., i. 265.

^b An interesting account of these martyrs is supplied by Fox, in the second volume of his *Acts and Monuments*. The evening before the execution of Bilney, the martyrologist relates that many of his friends resorted to him, one of whom expressed surprise at his partaking so heartily of a repast. Whereupon the holy man exclaimed: "I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost so long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my

body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same, as ye see." Then sitting with his friends in godly talk to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which he should suffer the next day should be of great heat to his body, yet the comfort of God's spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word, putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them, and feeling the heat thereof, "O," (said he) "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot; but yet I

brought before the convocation on a charge of heresy, but escaped by subscribing the articles offered to him. There was, as yet, no dispute respecting transubstantiation. It was first questioned by Frith, a disciple of the Swiss school, whose works came into England much later than those of Luther. John Frith was one of the Cambridge men whom Wolsey removed to his new college at Oxford. His intimacy with Tyndale led to the adoption of that reformer's views, on which account he was imprisoned; but, being released by the compassion of the cardinal, he fled to the continent, where he remained for some years. He was distinguished for his moderation and learning, but on his return to England was apprehended for heresy. The charges against him were a denial of purgatory and transubstantiation; both of which he admitted, defending his sentiments with eminent skill and temper. In a letter which he wrote from prison to his friends, he thus describes his examination. "And first of all, as touching purgatory, they inquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life. But I said, I thought there was no such place: for man (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul; whereof the one is purged here in this world, by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child that he receiveth; as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, im-

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John Frith.

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am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption; and I constantly believe,

howsoever that the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." p.227.

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prisonment, &c. And last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us; but the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soul. Now if ye can show me a third part of man beside the body and the soul, I will also grant you the third place, which ye do call purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the bishop of Rome's purgatory." After giving an account of the discussion he maintained with his persecutors on the second charge preferred against him, he adds: "Here peradventure many would marvel, that forasmuch as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament being separate from the articles of faith, and binding no man of necessity, either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not; but rather may be left indifferently to all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do condemn or despise the other; but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions. What, then, is the cause why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this; for that I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing, if it were most true (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or doctors), yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that doctrine, were

it never so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things, both in the Scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an article of faith.”^c

Refusing to recant, he was condemned, as an obstinate heretic, “to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, most earnestly requiring them,” said his judges, with impious hypocrisy, “in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderate that the rigor thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith, by this our sentence definitive, or final decree.”

Cranmer concurred in the proceedings against Frith, as is shown in his letter to Hawkins, reprinted by Dr. Lingard.^d But he took a more active part in the prosecution of Nicholson, who to conceal himself from the bishop had assumed the name of Lambert. This estimable man had been imprisoned on a charge of heresy by archbishop Warham, but was released on the death of that prelate. Having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, preach on the presence of Christ in the sacrament, he sought an interview with him, and stated his objections to the received doctrine, which he afterwards committed to writing. Taylor showed this paper to Dr. Barnes, a Lutheran, and they reported the matter to Cranmer, who summoned Lambert

John Lambert.
1538.

^c Acts and Monuments, ii. 253. ^d Hist. of England, vi. 366.

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II.HENRY
VIII.

into the archiepiscopal court. He was ultimately condemned to the stake, where he yielded up his soul to God, exclaiming, "None but Christ, none but Christ."^e

Sacramen-
tarians and
Baptists per-
secuted.

The sacramentarians and baptists were now diligently sought out and persecuted. In the year 1539, certain injunctions were issued by the king, the fourth of which directed that "Those that be in any errors, as sacramentaries, anabaptists, or any other that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the king's majesty, or one of his privy council, to the intent to have it punished without favour, even with the extremity of the law."^f Many of the latter experienced the unrelenting rigor of ecclesiastical intolerance. Some were banished, others imprisoned, and not a few perished in the flames. They were obnoxious to all other sects. The protestants, equally with the papists, regarded them with abhorrence, and even at the stake gave utterance to the strongest sentiments of hatred. "Which sect," said Barnes, when brought to Smithfield in 1540, "I detest and abhor."^g

Statute of the
six articles.
1539.

The ascendancy of the popish party in the king's councils was unequivocally displayed in a statute entitled, "An act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion." The preamble states, "that the king, considering

^e Acts and Monuments, ii. 358. It is singular that the three men, Cranmer, Taylor, and Barnes, who were principally concerned in the death of Lambert, were themselves condemned to the stake as heretics. Such facts are

fraught with instruction which every mind is capable of receiving.

^f Ibid., ii. 369.

^g See the first chapter of Crosby's Hist. of the English Baptists.

the blessed effects of union, and the mischiefs of discord, since there were many different opinions, both among the clergy and laity, about some points of religion, had called this parliament, and a synod at the same time, for removing these differences, when six articles were proposed, and long debated by the clergy; and the king himself had come in person to the parliament and council, and opened many things of high learning and great knowledge about them; and that he, with the consent of both houses of parliament, had agreed on the following articles.

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II.

HENRY
VIII.

“1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine; but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present.

“2. That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds.

“3. That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God.

“4. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the laws of God.

“5. That the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God’s law, so man received great benefit from them.

“6. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained.”

It was further enacted, “that if any did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burned without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the king. And those who preached or

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II.HENRY
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obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to be judged felons, and to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy. And those who, either in word or writing, spake against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, for the first offence; and if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as felons."^h

On the passing of this act, Latimer and Shaxton resigned their bishoprics; and Cranmer sent his wife to her friends in Germany.ⁱ The influence of the latter prelate was now considerably diminished; and his power of forwarding the Reformation was further abridged by the fall of Cromwell in the following year. The popish party vigorously pressed the obnoxious statute they had carried through parliament. Commissioners were appointed in every shire to search out and examine delinquents. Hundreds were committed to prison, and many expired at the stake. Others fled to the continent, where they learnt a purer faith than had yet obtained in their native country.^k The punishments inflicted on this occasion "did but advance their religion," remarks lord Herbert; "and it was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible, otherwise, that they should so rejoice in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruel death."^l

^h Burnet's Reform., i. 416. Parl. Hist., i. 539.

ⁱ Shaxton subsequently returned to the papal church, and became a persecutor of his former associates.—Strype's Mem., i. i. 544.

^k Ibid., 545.

^l Life of Henry the Eighth, 530. The operation of this statute was

somewhat circumscribed by the thirty-fifth of Henry the Eighth, which enacted, "that persons shall not be convicted upon it, but by the oaths of twelve men; that the prosecution shall be within a year; and that if any one preaches against the six articles, he shall be informed against within forty days."

CHAPTER III.

The Popish Party Plot the Destruction of Cranmer—Papists and Protestants executed—Circulation of the Bible opposed by the Catholics—Act for the Advancement of Reformation—Litany published in English—Character of Henry—Character of the Reform he effected—State Alliances injurious to Christianity.

THE great object of the Popish party was the ruin of Cranmer. The zeal with which he had promoted the Reformation was an unpardonable offence, for which his death only could atone. But he retained an interest in the affection of his royal master, which no other courtier possessed. Henry's protection of Cranmer is one of the few redeeming acts of his life. It is somewhat difficult to account for it. It probably arose from the integrity of the archbishop's character, and the timidity of his disposition. The latter quality prevented his arousing the king's anger, by persisting in opposition to his measures; whilst the former could scarcely fail to impress even the brutal mind of Henry with some degree of awe. Had Cranmer possessed more firmness, or less virtue, he would, in all probability, have been sacrificed by his monarch.^m

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The Popish
party plot the
destruction of
Cranmer.

^m Burnet has furnished some care of Cranmer.—Hist. of Reformation, i. 426, 526, 550.

CHAP.
III.HENRY
VIII.Papists and
Protestants
executed.

July, 1540.

The king was as zealous in enforcing his supremacy, as in setting bounds to the faith of his subjects. The Catholic, equally with the Protestant, was obnoxious to his penal code. The former was punished as a rebel, for admitting the papal supremacy; the latter as a heretic, for denying the papal doctrines. A day or two after the execution of Cromwell, three Catholics, Powel, Abel, and Featherstone, were conveyed from the Tower to Smithfield, on the same hurdle with three Protestants, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome. The former were hanged and quartered as traitors; the latter were burnt as heretics.ⁿ The unprejudiced of every party will admire the integrity displayed by these sufferers, in support of their respective opinions. Whatever view may be entertained of their doctrines, we must be strangely perverted by the spirit of party, if we refuse them the tribute of our commendation and gratitude. By braving the wrath of a brutal king, they set an example of moral courage, the influence of which has been amongst the most regenerative elements of society. That sympathy with suffering 'endured for conscience' sake, which is restricted to our own party, is fictitious and morbid; induced by accidental associations, rather than by upright principles, and the pure spirit of Christian fellowship. The wayward temper and capricious policy of Henry were strikingly displayed in the alternate persecution of the two religious bodies into which his subjects were divided. His own creed was a compound of the Reformed and Catholic faith, while his heart was open only to the worst influences which a depraved

ⁿ Burnet's Reform. i. 477. Lingard's England, vi. 405.

nature can experience. The variations of his policy were therefore numerous, and generally bore some relation to the revolutions of his domestic circle.

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III.

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VIII.

The predominance of the Catholic party, during the latter period of this reign, was evidenced in the efforts made to prevent the circulation of the Scriptures. It was represented to the king, by Gardiner, that the authorized version was disfigured by many false renderings, and that much evil had arisen from the liberty he had granted his subjects of reading it. Cranmer did his utmost to counteract these misrepresentations; and at length succeeded in moving the king to refer the translation to the judgment of the two universities. "The bishops," we are told by Burnet, "took this very ill, when Cranmer intimated it to them in the king's name; and objected, that the learning of the universities was much decayed of late, and that the two houses of convocation were the more proper judges of that, where the learning of the land was chiefly gathered together. But the archbishop said he would stick close to the king's pleasure, and that the universities should examine it."° The design of the Popish bishops was thus frustrated, and their protest, which followed, served only to display their chagrin and disappointment. Shortly afterwards Cranmer took courage to urge the advancement of the Reformation, and ultimately obtained an Act for this purpose. It was entitled, *An Act for the Advancement of True Religion, and Abolishment of the Contrary*; and was clogged with many provisos, which the Catholic prelates succeeded in introducing.

Attempt of
the Catholics
to prevent the
circulation of
the Scriptures

° Hist. of Reform., i. 506.

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VIII.

An Act for
the Advance-
ment of Re-
formation.
1543.

The preamble set forth, "That, there being many dissensions about religion, the Scriptures, which the king had put into the hands of his people, were abused by many seditious persons in their sermons, books, plays, rhymes, and songs; from which great inconveniences were like to arise. For preventing these, it was necessary to establish a form of sincere doctrine, conformable to that which was taught by the apostles. Therefore all the books of the Old and New Testament, of Tindal's translation (which is called crafty, false, and untrue), are forbidden to be kept or used in the king's dominions; with all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth in the year 1540; with punishments, and fines, and imprisonment, upon such as sold or kept such books. But Bibles that were not of Tindal's translation were still to be kept, only the annotations or preambles that were in any of them were to be cut out, or dashed; and the king's proclamations and injunctions, with the primers and other books printed in English, for the instruction of the people, before the year 1540, were still to be in force; and among these, Chaucer's books are by name mentioned. No books were to be printed about religion, without the king's allowance. In no plays, nor interludes, they might make any expositions of Scripture; but only reproach vice and set forth virtue in them. None might read the Scripture in any open assembly, or expound it, but he who was licensed by the king or his ordinary; with a proviso, that the chancellors in parliament, judges, recorders, or any others who were wont on public occasions to make speeches, and commonly took a place of Scripture for their text, might still do, as they had done formerly. Every

nobleman or gentleman might cause the Bible to be read to him, in or about his house, quietly and without disturbance. Every merchant that was a householder might also read it; but no woman, nor artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men under the degree of yeomen, nor no husbandmen, or labourers, might read it: yet every noblewoman or gentlewoman might read it for herself; and so might all other persons but those who were excepted. Every person might read and teach in their houses the book set out in the year 1540, with the Psalter, Primer, Pater-noster, the Ave, and the Creed, in English. All spiritual persons who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine set forth in that book, were to be admitted, for the first conviction, to renounce their errors; for the second, to abjure, and carry a fagot; which if they refused to do, or fell into a third offence, they were to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. But these offences were to be objected to them within a year after they were committed. And whereas, before, the party accused was not allowed to bring witnesses for his own purgation, this was now granted him. But to this a severe proviso was added, which seemed to overthrow all the former favour; that the act of the six Articles was still in the same force in which it was before the making of this act. Yet that was moderated by the next proviso; that the king might, at any time here after, at his pleasure, change this act, or any provision in it.”^p

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III.

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VIII.

Revolting as are many parts of this statute, it mitigated the severity of previous laws against heresy, by relieving the laity from fear of being burnt, and by allowing the accused to summon witnesses in their defence. The prohibition of the Bible to persons of the lower order was consonant to the policy of the Romish church, and not foreign, perhaps, from the wishes of some of the timid and least enlightened friends of the Reformation. It required the experience of half a century to relieve the friends of Protestantism from a vague and inconsistent dread of the effects of an indiscriminate perusal of the sacred volume.

An English
Library pub-
lished.
1545.

The same policy which led the Romish church to discountenance the circulation of the Bible, induced the adoption of a foreign language in its public devotions. The people were thus kept in profound ignorance, and were taught to substitute a dependance on their priests for an intelligent worship of God. No system could be more skilfully adapted to exclude the light of heaven from their minds, or to mould their sentiments and habits into more perfect harmony with the designs of their ecclesiastical rulers. The Reformers early perceived the enormity of this practice, and attempted its correction. As they unveiled the book of God to the inquiring gaze of an awakened church, so they sought to render her devotions intelligible to the meanest of her members. It is the glory of Protestantism to have shone as a light in a dark place. Her path has been luminous with the rays of knowledge, and may be every where distinctly traced by its contrast with surrounding darkness. Flagrant as was the evil referred to, its correction was

not speedily effected. The great mass of the people being superstitiously attached to the offices of the Romish church, rendered any alteration a somewhat delicate and difficult work. Moreover, in this case there was no such motive to induce the king to interfere as existed in some others. The supremacy of the pope had been discarded, because he refused to gratify the wishes of Henry; and the wealth of the monasteries had been seized, because they promised to relieve the necessities of the king, and to enrich his impoverished courtiers. But, in the present instance, no such motive could operate; and it required, therefore, a favourable conjuncture of circumstances to secure for the Reformers the alteration they desired. This occurred when the king was about to depart for France to prosecute the war he was waging in that country. A Litany, with other devotional offices, was then published in the English language, under the title of *An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his Majesty and his Clergy to be read to the People*. Also, *A Litany, with Suffrages to be said or sung, in the time of the Processions*. Many traces of popery are discoverable in this performance. Invocations are addressed to the virgin, to angels and archangels, to patriarchs, apostles, prophets, &c. But it was in substance the same as is at present used in the English church, and was, on the whole, adapted to promote the views, and encourage the hopes, of the Reformers.^a

CHAP.
III.HENRY
VIII.

^a Burnet's Reform., iii. 247. In the mandate which was addressed to Cranmer, the king says, "Wherefore we will and command you, as you will answer

unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these prayers and suffrages aforesaid to be published, frequented, and openly used, in all towns, churches, villages, and

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III.

HENRY
VIII.

Character of
Henry.

The policy of the king continued to vacillate to the close of his life, which happened on the 28th of January, 1547. Of his character, little need be said. In early life, his personal qualities were brilliant and imposing; and the contrast he furnished to his prudent and parsimonious father attached an unwonted degree of popularity to the commencement of his reign. But his temper grew capricious, and his disposition cruel, as he advanced in years. Casting aside the tenderness of his youth, he became ferocious and blood-thirsty; the indiscriminate persecutor of all parties, according as his humour or policy might suggest. His claim to our attention is founded on the religious revolution he effected. The part he acted in this great change invested him with a false glory, which has misled the judgment and perverted the sympathies of his countrymen. His intimate connexion with the first movements of ecclesiastical reform has obtained him credit for religious principles of which he was wholly destitute. The adulatory style in which he was addressed by the contending religionists of his day has been mistaken for the sober expressions of truth; and his name, in consequence, has passed current as a reformer of religion, a purifier of the temple of God. A veil has thus been cast over the enormities of his life, which has preserved him from the execration to which he is so justly obnoxious. The motives by which he was actuated, in his separation from the papacy, were any thing but religious. The divorce which he caused Cranmer to pronounce

parishes, of your own diocese, but also to signify this our pleasure unto all other bishops of your province, willing and com-

manding them in our name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the same accordingly."—*Ibid.*, iv. 146.

in 1533, as it was designed to make way for his own gratification, so it precipitated him into a course of measures, from the spiritual bearings of which his heart was utterly estranged. He sought only the satisfaction of his own evil passions. The man who could profane with blood the sanctuary of domestic joys; who could win, with flattering speech, the confiding attachment of the female heart, and then consign the beautiful form, in whose best affections he was enshrined, to the block; who could raise talent from obscurity, avail himself of its services, and then, with brutal indifference, reward them with a public execution, retained so little of the image of humanity, as to be infinitely removed from the spirit and temper of Christ.

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III.

HENRY
VIII.

The course which Henry pursued as an ecclesiastical reformer was in harmony with his character. So long as interest impelled, he assailed popery in its strongholds. The supremacy of the pontiff was discarded, monastic institutions were abolished, the exorbitant wealth of the clergy was scattered amongst a rapacious and impoverished aristocracy, the word of God was translated into the vernacular tongue, and many vestiges of ancient superstition were removed from the land. But the system he established was of the same nature as that which he displaced. The supremacy of the pope was supplanted by that of the king; and if infallibility was not claimed, the proceedings taken could only be justified on that principle. The right of private judgment was as sternly denied as in the worst days of popery, and the fires of persecution were enkindled by a bigotry as intolerant

Character of
his Reforma-
tion.

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III.HENRY
VIII.

and brutal as the man of sin ever displayed. The fact is, and impartial history records it, the reformation of Henry was a struggle for power, and not for principle; the reckless daring of a mind which would have subverted all law, and extinguished all virtue, for the gratification of its selfish passions. Religion was an engine of state policy which the monarch employed to heighten his power and confirm his despotism. The radical error of the Reformers was their admission of the magistrates' right to legislate for the church. By making the faith of a nation dependant on the will of the king, they hazarded a thousand evils, amongst the least of which was the reaction which this principle involved on the accession of Mary. The immediate effects of a vicious principle may appear to be beneficial, but its ultimate tendencies are invariably pernicious. Had Cranmer and his associates exhibited religion in its primitive simplicity and honour; had they denounced its subjection to the state as incompatible with its nature and injurious to its success; had they, while scrupulously rendering to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, reserved unto God that which was his; in a word, had they trusted to the mysterious power with which Christianity is allied, rather than to the patronage of their prince; they might have exposed themselves to dangers which for a time they escaped, but they would have redeemed religion from reproach, and have preserved her from those corrupting associations which have enfeebled her energies, and rendered her an object of mistrust, if not of contempt. The power of religion consists in her purity and meekness. She is adapted to the

sympathies and wants of man; and when unfettered by human aid, and freed from the insult of kingly patronage, she will win her way to the confidence and gratitude of mankind.

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When the religion of a people is made to depend on the pleasure of their rulers, it is necessarily subjected to a thousand infusions foreign from its nature, and destructive of the reverence it should inspire. Alienated from its legitimate purpose, it is employed by the ambitious and crafty in promoting their nefarious schemes; and becomes, in consequence, connected, in the public judgment, with whatever is criminal and oppressive in the political institutions of the land.^r The kingly or magisterial office is essentially political. Its power may be wielded by an irreligious, immoral, or profane man; a despiser of Christianity, or a blasphemer of God. There is nothing to prevent this, or to afford even a presumption that it shall be otherwise. What, therefore, can be more monstrous than to attach to such an office a controlling power over the faith and worship of the church; to constitute its occupant the supreme head of that body which is represented as a congregation of faithful men? Amongst the many fantasies of the mind of man, none is more singularly absurd than this. It is in striking opposition to the nature of Christianity, and inconsistent with the obligations it imposes on

State alliances
injurious to
Christianity.

^r The modern history of Europe affords ample confirmation of these remarks. France, during the period of its revolution; Spain, Portugal, and Italy, at the present day; and our own country, in the midst of its many privileges; all bear witness to the tendency of a state religion to render

Christianity an object of suspicion and reproach. Were the religion of the Son of God to be seen through no other medium, it would soon become, like Sampson, when shorn of his strength, the derision and laughter of its enemies.

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III.HENRY
VIII.

its disciples. The Christian faith addresses men individually, soliciting an examination of its character, and demanding an intelligent and hearty obedience. But where the pleasure of a king is permitted to regulate the faith of a nation, authority is substituted for reason, and the promptings of fear supplant the perception of evidence, and the confiding attachment of an enlightened piety. This is the radical defect of the English Reformation. It was a movement dictated by the king, which he assumed to regulate at his pleasure, and to enforce by the severest penalties. The Reformers sanctioned the king's assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy, by receiving the correction of abuses as an act of the royal bounty, which might have been withheld. The people, therefore, were prohibited from proceeding further than the king authorized. They were to believe as he taught, and to worship as he enjoined. Suspending their own reason, extinguishing the *light divine* within them, they were to follow their monarch, licentious and blood-thirsty as he was, in all matters pertaining to the moral government and eternal welfare of their souls. Such was the system which Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and numerous other worthies advocated. Well may we weep over the weakness and folly of our nature, when such men could be induced to embrace, and zealously defend, so unhallowed and pernicious a system. Its tendency was concealed from their view; but the course of English history has rendered it sufficiently obvious to their successors, to ensure its speedy rejection.

During the latter part of the reign of Henry, the English church may be considered as in a state of

transition from popery to protestantism. It partook of the character of both, but could not be identified with either. Its allegiance was transferred from the pontiff to the king, but the traces of ancient superstition were still visible in its worship, and its offices were modelled on the depraved example of the popedom. “The religion established by Henry the Eighth,” remarks lord Russell, “was so far from being the reformed church of Luther or of Calvin, that he prided himself in maintaining the Roman catholic faith after he had shaken off the supremacy of the pope. His ordinances, indeed, vibrated for a short time between the old and the new religion, as he listened more to Cranmer or to Gardiner; but the law of the six articles, which contains the creed he finally imposed on his people, maintains and confirms all the leading articles of the Roman belief.”^s

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III.

HENRY
VIII.

^s On the English Government, &c., 40.

CHAPTER IV.

EDWARD VI.

New Council favourable to the Reformation—Further Reformation resolved on—General Visitation—Homilies compiled—Repeal of the Statute of six Articles—Communion in both kinds—Book of Common Prayer—Act of Uniformity—Preaching prohibited—Priests permitted to marry—Articles of Religion—Blemishes of the Reformation—Gardiner and Bonner imprisoned—Deprived—Princess Mary opposed to the Reformation—Her rigorous treatment—Hooper objects to the Habits—Persecution of Sectaries—Burning of Joan Bocher—George Van Pare—Character of Edward's Reformation—Reformation injured by the rapacity of Courtiers.

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IV.

EDWARD
VI.

New Council
favourable to
the Reforma-
tion.

EDWARD THE SIXTH ascended the throne January 31, 1547, in the tenth year of his age, having been born October 12, 1537. His father's will had appointed a council to exercise the royal prerogative during his minority. "In the list of executors, appointed by the will of Henry the Eighth, we see the decisive preponderance of the 'new nobility,' invidiously so called by their enemies, both because they were partisans of the new reformers, and because they owed their sudden rise in wealth to a share in the spoils of the church. Generally speaking, they were gentlemen of ancient lineage; but their fortune and rank commonly sprung from this dubious source."^t This pre-

^t Mackintosh's England, ii. 247.

ponderance was probably owing to the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, the chief of the popish party, which made way for the influence of his rival, the earl of Hertford, who was soon afterwards created duke of Somerset, and received the titles of "governor of his majesty, lord protector of all his realms, lieutenant-general of all his armies." He was decidedly favourable to the Reformation, which now proceeded with more vigor and consistency than in the former reign. His party alliances and personal ambition prompted the same course. He was the head of a class whose existence depended on the measures which Henry had commenced; and he therefore readily obtained the concurrence of his colleagues in his reforming plans. The young king, his nephew, was well known to be inclined to the same policy. Great care had been taken of his education, by his tutors, sir Anthony Cook, Dr. Richard Cox, and sir John Cheke, who were all favourable to the Reformation. They naturally infused their own principles into their royal pupil, and thus prepared him for acting the distinguished part which he took in the history of the English church. "They were happily chosen," says Strype, "being both truly learned, sober, wise, and all favourers of the gospel."^u

CHAP.
IV.

EDWARD
VI.

Cranmer and his associates were relieved, by the death of Henry, from that excessive dread which had cramped their energies, and prevented their following out their principles to their legitimate results.^v They therefore resolved to proceed with

Further Re-
formation
resolved on.

^u Memorials, ii. i. 13. Burnet's Reform., ii. 39.

^v The attempt of some Protestant writers to defend Cranmer

CHAP.
IV.EDWARD
VI.General
Visitation.
1547.

greater vigor in the correction of abuses, and to introduce into the formularies and worship of the church such alterations as would assimilate them to the primitive standard. At the same time, they felt the necessity of proceeding with caution. A large majority of the clergy were hostile to their views, and the people generally were so ignorant and superstitious as to be wedded to the most offensive of those rites which they purposed to abolish. The cautious policy of Cranmer was therefore adopted, and less, probably, was done than might safely have been effected. A visitation of the whole kingdom was appointed, and injunctions were issued, well suited to prepare the way for more extensive and radical changes. In these injunctions it was ordered, "that curates should take down such images as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them; but that private persons should not do it; that, in the confessions in Lent, they should examine all people, whether they could recite the elements of religion in the English tongue; that at high mass they should read the epistle and gospel in English; and every Sunday and holyday, they should read, at matins, one chapter out of the New Testament, and at even-

from the charge of pusillanimity in suppressing some of his opinions during the latter part of Henry's reign, is injudicious and unworthy of their cause. Better admit the truth with Fuller, who, writing of the accession of Edward, says, "Other confessors, which had fled beyond sea, as John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, &c., returned with joy into their country; and all Protestants, which formerly for fear had dissembled their religion, now pub-

licly professed the same. Of these, archbishop Cranmer was the chiefest; who, though willingly he had done no ill, and privately many good offices for the Protestants, yet his cowardly compliance hitherto with popery, against his conscience, cannot be excused; serving the times present in his practice, and waiting on a future alteration in his hopes and desires."—Church History, book vii. 371.

song, another out of the Old, in English ; that the holyday being instituted at first that men should give themselves wholly to God, yet God was generally more dishonoured upon it than upon the other days, by idleness, drunkenness, and quarrelling, the people thinking that they sufficiently honored God by hearing mass and matins, though they understood nothing of it to their edifying ; therefore, thereafter the holyday should be spent according to God's holy will, in hearing and reading his holy word, in public and private prayers, in amending their lives, receiving the communion, visiting the sick, and reconciling themselves to their neighbours ; that the people should be taught not to despise any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated, but to beware of the superstition of sprinkling their beds with holy water, or the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles for driving away devils ; that all monuments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches, and that there should be a pulpit in every church for preaching," &c.^w As the people were kept in great suspense by the controversies which were carried on in the pulpit, all bishops were ordered to preach in their cathedrals only ; and other clergymen in their collegiate or parochial churches, unless they had obtained a special license from himself. The object of this mandate was to silence the advocates of the old, and to favour those of the new, faith. To the latter, licenses were freely granted ; but to the former, they were systematically refused. Such is the method in which religion is befriended when the principle of authority is once admitted.

CHAP.
IV.

EDWARD
VI.

^w Burnet's Reform., ii. 44. Strype's Mem., ii. i. 72.

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Homilies
compiled.
1547.

There being a great dearth of preachers at this time, Cranmer caused a book of Homilies, or short sermons, to be prepared for the use of such incumbents as were incapable of publicly expounding the divine word. The subjects selected were of the plainest and most elementary kind; such as the use of the Scriptures, the misery of mankind by sin, their salvation by Christ, &c. Great objections were urged by the popish party against these homilies. "Sometimes, when they were read in the church, if the parishioners liked them not, there would be such talking and babbling in the church, that nothing could be heard. And if the parish were better affected, and the priest not so, then he would 'so hawk it, and chop it,' (I use the words of old Latimer,) 'that it were as good for them to be without it, for any word that could be understood.'"^x An English copy of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament was also ordered to be provided in every parish church, for the use of the unlearned. Gardiner opposed these measures with all the acuteness which his distinguished talents and long experience enabled him to display, and was successful in pointing out inconsistencies in the doctrine of the Paraphrase and Homilies.^y Unhappily for the reputation of the Reformers, they were not content with the legitimate weapons of religious controversy, but appealed to force in support of their opinions. Gardiner and others, as we shall presently see, were stripped of their preferments, and were treated with a severity which forms some extenuation of their subsequent conduct.

Repeal of the
Statute of Six
Articles.
1547.

It was an object of deep solicitude with the

^x Strype's Mem., ii. i. 49.

^y Lingard's England, vii. 25.

Reformers, to obtain an early repeal of the obnoxious and persecuting statutes which had been passed in the previous reign. This was effected in the parliament which met November 4, 1547. The acts of Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth against the Lollards were repealed, together with the statute of the six articles, and others which followed in explanation of it.^z “By which repeal,” says Heylin, in obvious ignorance of the acts yet remaining on the statute-book, “all men may seem to have been put into a liberty of reading Scripture, and being in a manner their own expositors; of entertaining what opinions in religion best pleased their fancies; and promulgating those opinions which they entertained. So that the English for a time enjoyed that liberty which the Romans are affirmed by Tacitus to have enjoyed without control in the times of Nerva; that is to say, *a liberty of opening whatsoever they pleased, and speaking freely their opinions wheresoever they listed.* Which, whether it were such a great felicity as that author makes it, may be more than questioned.”^a

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Amongst the many innovations of the church of Rome, the prohibition of the cup in the Lord's Supper, to the laity, was one of the most palpable. It therefore became an early point of difference between the adherents and the impugnors of the papacy; the former attempting its justification, and the latter denouncing it as a violation of the law of Christ, and an unwarranted departure from the

Communion
in both kinds
established.

^z Burnet's Reform., ii. 63.

^a Hist. of Reform., 48. Heylin's mistrust of the principles of Protestantism is obvious even in his professed advocacy of them. His dissent from Rome was a

matter of circumstance rather than of conviction, and was never so understood and approved as to command the sympathies of his heart.

CHAP.
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practice of his apostles. Early in the session, a bill was introduced for the correction of this evil, which sets forth, that it is more agreeable to the first institution of the sacrament, and more conformable to the common practice of the apostles and primitive church for five hundred years, that it "should be ministered to all Christian people, under both kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only; and that the people should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone."^b This was an act of great consequence, not only as it reformed two notorious abuses, but as it proclaimed throughout the kingdom, in a manner level to every capacity, the decided tone and character of the supreme government.

Election of
Bishops.

The election of bishops was also, by act of parliament, vested in the crown, and all their proceedings were ordered to be carried on in the king's name, and their official documents to be sealed with the royal instead of the episcopal arms.^c Thus the subjection of the religious to the civil power was effected. The system which had been matured by the craft and despotism of Rome was at once overturned; and from their unnatural elevation, the dignitaries of the church sunk into mere dependants on the court. The political agents of the English Reformation were evidently bent on keeping the ecclesiastical powers in complete subordination. They went from one extreme to another. Having tasted the bitterness of clerical tyranny, they retaliated on the clergy "by making them," as Heylin justly remarks, "no other than the king's ministers

^b Strype's Memor., ii. i. 98.

^c Burnet's Reform., ii. 68.

only, his ecclesiastical sheriffs, to execute his will and disperse his mandates.”^d And such must ever be the course of things while mere political men are allowed to legislate for the church. Their minds are susceptible of such motives only as are of a secular order. Whatever regard they may profess for the purity and honour of religion, is usually known to be insincere, by their utter disregard of its authority, and open violation of its laws. They never approach but to profane it; they never enter its sanctuary but to carry thence the vessels of the Lord. Insult is thus added to neglect, and the baseness of hypocrisy supplies a yet darker hue to the character of the debauchee and the infidel.

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The committee of bishops and divines which had prepared the English communion-book were now directed by the king to draw up a form of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, to be substituted for the Latin mass-book. They accordingly met in May, 1548, and compiled, from the various offices previously used, what they deemed most scriptural and instructive. Having been accustomed from infancy to a set form of prayer, we need not be surprised that the English Reformers contemplated the necessity of a new liturgy for the church they were founding. So decided were their views, that Burnet tells us, “I do not find it was ever brought under consideration, whether they should compose a form for all the parts of divine worship, or leave it to the sudden and extemporary heats of those who were to officiate, which some have called, since that time, the worshipping by the Spirit: of this way of serving God they did not

The book of
Common
Prayer.
1548.

^d Hist. of Reform., 51.

CHAP. then dream; much less that the appointing of forms
 IV. of prayer was an encroaching on the kingly office
 ——— of Christ.”^e
 EDWARD
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The question of priestly attire also came now under consideration. Some of the Reformers objected to the surplices, capes, and other vestments of the Romish clergy, as symbols of superstition, which ought to be discarded with the mass. “On the other hand,” says Burnet, “it was argued, that, as white was anciently the color of the priests’ garments in the Mosaical dispensation, so it was used in the African churches in the fourth century; and it was thought a natural expression of the purity and decency that became priests: besides, the clergy were then generally extreme poor, so that they could scarce afford themselves decent clothes; the people also, running from the one extreme of submitting too much to the clergy, were now as much inclined to despise them, and to make light of the holy function; so that, if they should officiate in their own mean garments, it might make the divine offices grow also into contempt.”^f

The compilers departed from the papal offices of devotion no farther than was absolutely necessary. What was notoriously superstitious they discarded, but retained what was merely questionable in deference to the prejudices of the popish party. Different opinions will be entertained of the policy of such a course. That it rendered their production incomplete was acknowledged by themselves, in the review which they subsequently instituted, and by which the liturgy was affirmed, in a parliamentary statute, to have been “made more perfect.”

1552.

^e Hist. of Reform., ii. 115.^f Hist. of Reform., ii. 120.

And that it tended to retain the people in a state half popish and half protestant, and thus increased the difficulties of effecting a more perfect Reformation, has been clearly shown in the history of the English church. The truth of the matter would seem to be, that what a cautious and temporizing policy admits, to neutralize present opposition, is but a transfer of the difficulty to some future stage, when it must be encountered under less favourable circumstances, and without that energy of feeling and of action, which accompanies the first movements of religious reform. That which is tolerated in the hope of future correction, becomes gradually the object of veneration even to those who would at first have consented to its removal. The disciples of Cranmer have defended, with bitter zeal, rites and ceremonies which, there is reason to believe, he sanctioned from a feeling of necessity only. The new service-book was confirmed by a statute, entitled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Service, and Administration of the Sacraments throughout the Realm*; by which it was enacted, that any clergyman refusing to use the new service-book, or officiating in any other manner, should, for the first offence, be imprisoned six months, and forfeit a year's income; for the second offence, forfeit all his preferments, and be imprisoned one year; and for the third offence, be imprisoned for life. Any person writing or printing against it, was, for the first offence, to be fined ten pounds; for the second, twenty pounds; and for the third, to suffer the loss of all his goods, and be imprisoned for life.^g

 CHAP.
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 Act of Uni-
formity.
1549.

While the book of Common Prayer was in the

 Preaching
prohibited.

^g Burnet's Reform., ii. 148. Strype's Memor., ii. i. 133.

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IV.

EDWARD
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Sept. 23, 1548.

course of preparation, it was natural that men's minds should be powerfully excited by the prospect of so extensive an alteration as it would effect. The pulpit became the arena of controversy, from which opposing theologians gave utterance to their zeal or bigotry. To prevent the continuance of such discussions, a proclamation was issued in the king's name, prohibiting "all manner of persons, whosoever they be, to preach in open audience in the pulpit, or otherwise; to the intent," it is hypocritically alleged, "that the whole clergie, in this mean space, might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God, for the better atchieving of the same most godly intent and purpose, not doubting but that also his loving subjects in the meantime will occupie themselves to God's honour, with due prayer to the church, and patient hearing of the godly homilies, heretofore set forth by his highness's injunctions unto them, and so endeavour themself that they may be the more ready with thankfull obedience to receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order, to be had throughout all his said realms and dominions."^h What a system must that be which recognizes, in any human being, a right to issue such an edict as this; an edict so fearfully impious as to involve a counteraction, and that on no limited scale, of God's wisest and most gracious designs! But such is the system which the Reformation perpetuated in this country, and which has subsequently been maintained by means in perfect harmony with its anti-christian character.

^h Fuller's Church History, book vii. 389.

The same parliament which established the book of Common Prayer passed an Act permitting priests to marry, which encountered more contradiction and censure than any other law passed in this reign. The celibacy of the clergy was a favourite dogma of the Romish church. It was the corner-stone of its political system, and had invested with a fictitious and deceptive sanctity those who ministered at its altars. The first Reformers were therefore regarded as perjured in departing from their canonical vows, while their successors have been represented as men of too earthly a character to officiate in the pure sanctuary of God.ⁱ

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Priests permitted to marry.
Feb. 19, 1549.

One thing was yet wanting to the completeness of the English church, which Cranmer was directed to supply, by an order from the privy council, in 1551. He accordingly drew up a set of Articles, which he submitted for revision to some of his brethren. These were ultimately published by the king's authority, under the following title, "Articles which were agreed to in the synod of London, in the year 1552, by the bishops and other godly and learned men, to root out the discord of

Articles of
Religion.

May, 1553.

ⁱ Burnet's Reform., ii. 141. So strong was the popular feeling against the marriage of the clergy, that it was deemed necessary, in 1552, to pass another law, which set forth, "That many took occasion from words in the Act formerly made about this matter, to say, that it was only permitted, as usury and other unlawful things were, for the avoiding greater evils; who thereupon spoke slanderously of such marriages, and accounted the children begotten in them to be bastards, to the high dishonour of the king and parliament, and the learned clergy of the realm, who had deter-

mined, that the laws against priests' marriages were most unlawful by the law of God; to which they had not only given their assent in the convocation, but signed it with all their hands. These slanders did also occasion that the word of God was not heard with due reverence; whereupon it was enacted, that such marriages, made according to the rules prescribed in the book of service, should be esteemed good and valid, and that the children begot in them should be inheritable according to law."—Burnet's Reform., ii. 306.

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EDWARD
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opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion." They were forty-two in number, and were substantially the same as the thirty-nine adopted by Elizabeth, and which still constitute the doctrinal standard of the hierarchy.^j The original design of these articles is sufficiently obvious from their title. They were "to root out the discord of opinions," &c.; so that, as Burnet remarks, "One notion, that has been since taken up by some, seems not to have been then thought of; which is, that these were rather articles of peace than of belief; so that the subscribing was rather a compromise not to teach any doctrine contrary to them, than a declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reason for this conceit, no such thing being then declared; so that those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate."^k

The ecclesiastical changes of the reign of Edward effected an extensive and most important alteration in the English church, and could not fail to be regarded with exultation and gratitude by every religious Reformer. We need not, therefore, be much surprised at the adulatory strains in which the Protestants of that period were accustomed to speak of the youthful Edward. Miles Coverdale styles him, "The high and chief admiral of the great navy of the Lord of Hosts; principal captain and governor of us all under him; the most noble ruler of his ship, even

^j Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 390. *Memorials*, ii. ii. 24. Burnet's *Reform.*, ii. 265, iii. 316. The clause of the Twentieth Article, affirming the power of the church to decree rites and ceremonies, is

not in these Articles, nor is it easy to ascertain how it gained admittance into those of Elizabeth.

^k *Hist. of Reform.*, ii. 270.

our most comfortable Noah, whom the eternal God hath chosen to be the bringer of us unto rest and quietness in him. That he had set up his sail already, and was so well forward of his most godly journey, the gracious wind of the Holy Ghost serving him, that it made many a faithful subject of his, according as his calling required, to come after a goodly pace. And that his godly homilies, and notable work of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the holy Evangelists, were worthy to be compared to the rich jewels that Moses used to the pleasant garnishing of the temple. And as for the sacred bible, and volume of God's holy book, set forth by his majesty's appointment, to be duly practised in all holy exercises within his churches, as it was the fairest flower of his garden, and the most precious pearl of God's jewel-house, so, because his majesty had graciously made them partakers thereof, they acknowledged themselves no less bounden to his majesty, than the Israelites were first to their sovereign Moses, for bringing them up out of Egypt, and for setting up the tabernacle; and afterwards to noble king Josias, for restoring them again the book of the law."¹ In pronouncing judgment on such language, we must remember the circumstances of those who adopted it, and the style of the age in which they lived. It was customary, even at a much later period, for authors to address their patrons in the most fulsome strains; indeed it is not till comparatively recent times, that men of letters have discarded this servility as alike dishonourable to him who offers and to him who accepts it.

CHAP.
IV.EDWARD
VI.¹ Strype's Memor., ii. i. 102.

CHAP.
IV.EDWARD
VI.

Blemishes of
the Reforma-
tion.

Gardiner and
Bonner im-
prisoned.
1547.

After tracing thus far the brighter and more pleasing features of the reign of Edward, an enlightened friend of the English Reformation would be glad to close his narrative; but there are events closely interwoven with the ecclesiastical changes of this period, the suppression of which is prohibited by every principle of impartiality and justice. The spirit of party may regard an acknowledgment of the faults of the Reformers as inconsistent with a due appreciation of their excellences; but those who have studied history aright, and are adequately alive to its important objects, will deem an admission of the former absolutely necessary to a correct estimate of the latter. It has already been shown that the views of Cranmer and his associates on the subject of religious freedom were extremely defective. Various illustrations of this were supplied during the present reign, which it is the more important to keep in mind in order to an accurate view of the proceedings of the papists under the succeeding monarch. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, was the leading prelate of the popish party. He was a man of extraordinary ability and endowments, who had been an active agent of Henry in his negotiations with Rome. Protestant writers affirm that his pride was wounded by his not being appointed one of the king's executors; but charity requires us to hope that some better motive influenced him in the resolute opposition he maintained to the reforming measures of the council. Bonner, bishop of London, was a man of more brutal temper, and of less ability, than Gardiner. He was distinguished as a Canonist, but would probably have been un-

known to posterity, had it not been for the sanguinary part he acted under Mary. These two bishops were committed to prison in the first year of Edward, for opposing the Injunctions and Homilies, where they remained for some few months.^m Their opposition was at length felt to be so serious an obstacle, that it was determined to proceed to their deprivation. The case of Bonner was first selected. A commission was issued, September 18, 1549, to Cranmer and Ridley, with Petre and Smith, the king's secretaries, and Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's, to examine the charges preferred against him; and they were empowered to suspend, imprison, or deprive him, as they should deem fit. The trial lasted till the following month, when a sentence of deprivation was pronounced, and he was remanded to the Marshalsea, where he remained till the king's death.ⁿ

CHAP.
IV.
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Bonner de-
prived.
Oct. 4, 1549.

Oct. 4.

Gardiner had already been confined nearly two years, when a commission was issued for his trial, December 14, 1550. He was charged with refusing to preach the king's supremacy during his minority, with negligence in obeying the royal injunctions, and with obstinacy in not asking the king's pardon. He was at length deprived of his bishopric, and sent back to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner till released by Mary. It was ordered by the king's council, that "he should be removed from the lodging he hath now in the Tower, to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but one, by the lieutenant's appointment, in such sort as by the resort of any man to him, he have not the liberty to send out to any man, or to hear from any man.

Gardiner de-
prived.
Feb. 14, 1551.

^m Burnet's Reform., ii. 57.

ⁿ Burnet's Reform., ii. 193.

CHAP. IV. — And likewise that his books and papers be taken from him, and seen; and that, from henceforth, he have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to write his detestable purposes, but be sequestered from all conferences, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way.”^o

Princess Mary
opposed to
the Reforma-
tion.

Other popish bishops were also deprived and imprisoned; as Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester. But there was a more illustrious person, whose opposition to the new constitution and service of the church was as decided and zealous as the most active partizan of Rome could wish. The princess Mary, half sister to the king, was attached to the papal church by the earliest and most powerful associations. The authority of the pontiff was identified with the validity of her mother's marriage, while the Reformation was regarded as the cause of Anne Boleyn, the successful rival of her royal parent. During her father's reign, Mary had yielded a reluctant submission to his ecclesiastical measures; but on his death, she refused obedience to the council, and demanded that religion should remain in the state in which Henry had left it, till the king was of age. The reply of the protector is of considerable importance, as affirming very distinctly the intention of Henry to have proceeded further in the Reformation. “He put it to her, as

• Strype's Cranmer, i. 315. Burnet's Reform., iii. 290—298. It would be strange indeed if such treatment, operating on men like Bonner and Gardiner, had not formed the bitter persecutors of the succeeding reign. We may condemn their sanguinary course with merited severity; but justice requires us to remember the

wrongs they had endured, and the lessons they were taught. What can Mr. Southey mean by gravely telling us, when speaking of these bishops, “They were deprived of their sees, and imprisoned, *but no rigor was used toward them?*”—Book of the Church, ii., 114.

well knowing it, if that king did not depart this life before he had fully finished such orders as he minded to have established among his people, if death had not prevented him; and that it was most true, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but left all uncertain, most likely to have brought in parties and divisions, if God had not helped. He and others could witness, what regret and sorrow their late master had at the time of his departure, for that he knew religion was not established, as he purposed to have done; and a great many knew, and so did he, what that king would have done further in it, if he had lived.”^p Refusing to adopt the new service-book, in 1549 she was ordered by the council to conform herself to the laws, and not to cast reproach on the king’s government. She appealed to the emperor, her cousin, who interposed on her behalf, praying she might be permitted the use of the mass. As his friendship was of considerable importance at this time, his suit was granted; but when peace had been concluded with France, Mary was again disturbed by injunctions from the council. At length she had an interview with the council, in the presence of the king; “Where,” says Edward, “was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hopes of her reconciliation, and how now, being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. She answered, That her soul was God’s, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a

CHAP.
IV.

EDWARD
VI.

Her rigorous
treatment.

^p Strype’s Memor., ii. i. 94. Burnet’s Reform., iv. 263.

- CHAP. subject to obey; and that her example might breed
IV. too much inconvenience."^q On the following day
EDWARD VI. the emperor's ambassador threatened war, if this
policy were persisted in, and the council therefore
advised the king to connive for the present at her
disobedience; but he positively refused, thinking the
mass idolatrous and impious. "Upon this," says
Mar. 20. Burnet, "the council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and
Poinet to discourse about it with him. They told
him that it was always a sin in a prince to permit
any sin; but to give a connivance, that is, not to
punish, was not always a sin, since sometimes a
lesser evil connived at might easily prevent a
greater. He was overcome by this; yet not so
easily, but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting
his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to
continue in so abominable a way of worship, as he
esteemed the mass."^r
- Aug. 9. It was subsequently resolved that she should no
longer be allowed the mass; and the officers of her
household were consequently sent for, and charged
not to permit any other service to be used than that
Aug. 31. appointed by law. For disobedience to this man-
date they were sent to the Tower, whither Dr.
Mallet, her chaplain, had been sent on the 27th of
the previous April.^s This treatment of the princess
Mary must be permitted to modify the judgment
we pronounce on her unhappy and disastrous reign.
Her temper, naturally unamiable, was soured by it,
and became the ready instrument of a superstition
blind, intolerant, and unrelenting. At the same

^q Edward's Journal, March 18,
1551.

^r History of Reform., ii. 275.

Edward's Journal, March 20th,
1551.

^s Strype's Memorials, ii. i. 447.

time it is equally incumbent on us to reflect that there were extenuating circumstances in the conduct of her persecutors. "Somerset and Northumberland, who were the successive masters of the king and kingdom, saw the immense advantage to accrue to the protestant cause from the conversion of the presumptive heir to the throne. The feeble infancy of Edward was the only protection of the Reformation against a princess already suspected of bigotry, and who had grievous wrongs to revenge. Her conversion was therefore the highest object of policy. Justice requires this circumstance to be borne in mind, in a case where every generous feeling rises up in arms against the mere politician, and prompts us warmly to applaud the steady resistance of the wronged princess."^t

CHAP.
IV.
—
EDWARD
VI.

The Reformers were disposed to act with severity, not only against the adherents of the ancient faith, but also against such of their brethren as scrupled the propriety of any of their enactments. The case of John Hooper, nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, affords a painful illustration of this.^u He was a zealous, learned, and pious man,

Hooper objects to the habits, &c.
1550.

^t Mackintosh's England, ii. 268.

^u "Come we now," says Fuller, when referring to this circumstance, "to the saddest difference that ever happened in the church of England, if we consider either the time how long it continued, the eminent persons therein engaged, or the doleful effects thereby produced,—it was about *matters of conformity*. Alas! that men should have lesse wisdom than locusts; which, when sent on God's errand, *did not thrust one another*, whereas here, such shoving and shouldering, and hoisting and heaving, and jostling and thronging, betwixt

clergiemens of the highest parts and places. For now nonconformity in the daies of king Edward was conceived, which afterward in the reign of queen Mary (but beyond sea at Frankford) was born; which in the reign of queen Elizabeth was nursed and weaned; which under king James grew up a young youth, or tall stripling; but towards the end of king Charles his reign, shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able, not only to cope with, but to conquer, the hierarchie, its adversary."—Church Hist., b. vii. 401.

CHAP. IV. who had been an exile for conscience' sake during
 ——— the latter part of the reign of Henry. At this
 EDWARD VI. period he resided at Zurich, where he formed an
 intimacy with some of the Swiss Reformers, and
 imbibed their more simple views of ecclesiastical
 polity. "He seemed to some," says Fuller, "to
 have brought Switzerland back with him, in his
 harsh, rough, and unpleasant behaviour, being
 grave unto rigour, and severe unto surliness. Yet to
 speak truth, all Hooper's ill nature consisted in
 other men's little acquaintance with him. Such as
 visited him once, condemned him of over austerity;
 who repaired to him twice, only suspected him of
 the same; who conversed with him constantly, not
 only acquitted him of all morosity, but commended
 him for *sweetness of manners*."^v He was one of the
 most diligent and popular preachers of this reign,
 and was therefore sent through the counties of Kent
 and Essex to reconcile the people to the Reforma-
 tion. Being nominated to the see of Gloucester, he
 declined its acceptance on account of the oath of
 supremacy and the priestly garments. The former
 objection was removed by the king, who erased the
 exceptionable words, "by God, by the saints, and by
 the holy gospels," from the oath; and was inclined,
 Burnet tells us, with the council, to order him to be
 dispensed with as to the garments also. But Ridley
 opposed this conciliatory measure, and Hooper was
 commanded to confine himself to his house. He was
 subsequently committed to the custody of Cranmer,
 and finally was sent to the Fleet. It is humiliating
 to see such men as Cranmer and Ridley contending
 against the more tolerant principles and better

July 1550.

^v Church Hist., b. vii. 402.

feelings of their monarch. They might have been excused, if not justified, in refusing to consecrate Hooper contrary to law; but that they should have concurred in his imprisonment is a lamentable proof of intolerance and pride. Why was the honour of a bishopric to be forced on Hooper? He desired it not; he wished to be excused; but so intent were they on the maintenance of their idol uniformity, that all the charities of their nature were sacrificed at its shrine. "In conclusion," says Fox, "this theological contention came to this end, that the bishops having the upper hand, Mr. Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his sermons show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel he cometh forth on the stage."^w

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But the intolerant principles which swayed the councils of the Reformers were still more strikingly exemplified in the persecution of the sectaries which sprung up during this reign. No moderation was observed towards them, and the leading

Persecution
of Sectaries.

^w Acts and Monuments, iii. 120. It is pleasing to know that these eminent men were reconciled before their death. During their imprisonment, in Mary's reign, Ridley addressed an affectionate and pious letter to Hooper, in which, after acknowledging the receipt of two epistles from Hooper, he says, "But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so

furiously rageth in these our days; howsoever, in time past, by certain by-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ, I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake, which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for ever." — Ibid., 121. Strype's Cranmer, i. 302. Burnet's Reform., ii. 242. Ibid., iii. 299.

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April 12, 1549.

Burning of
Joan Bocher.
May 2, 1550.

men of both parties, the protestant equally with the catholic, concurred in their condemnation. A complaint was preferred to the council of several Baptists having sought refuge in England, and being diligently engaged in the dissemination of their opinions. A commission was accordingly issued to the archbishop of Canterbury and others, to "search after all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution; or, if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular power to be farther proceeded against."^x Several abjured their opinions; but two of them were faithful to the dictate of conscience, and refused to purchase life by dishonor. The first of these was Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She was a zealous protestant, and had actively promoted the Reformation during the perilous reign of Henry VIII. It is difficult to ascertain the precise error with which she was charged. The language attributed to her is unintelligible, and, if really adopted, entitled her to the compassion of her inexorable judges. She is repre-

^x "At this time there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England. They were generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. Upon this many argued that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's incarnation and sufferings, of the

fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtleties, and only pretended to be deduced from scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among these, the baptism of infants was one. They held that to be no baptism, and so were rebaptized; but from this, which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of Anabaptists." — Burnet's Reform., ii. 176.

sented as denying that "Christ was truly incarnate of the virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the virgin, took flesh of her."

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Refusing to retract her statement, she was, after much persuasion and many conferences, adjudged an obstinate heretic, and left to the secular power.^y The youthful Edward refusing to sign the warrant for her execution, Cranmer was employed by the council to remove his scruples. The arguments he employed were such as the papists had used, and for which they had been condemned by Cranmer. The stoning of blasphemers under the law, the difference between essential and secondary points of Christian faith, and the obligation of kings to check impiety, were urged with all the zeal, though not with the innate cruelty, which Bonner subsequently displayed. "These reasons," says Burnet, "did rather silence than satisfy the young king, who still thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was) to proceed so severely in such cases: so he set his hand to the warrant, with tears in his eyes, saying to Cranmer, 'That if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it

^y When condemned to die, we are informed, she said to her judges, "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Aune Ascue for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the scriptures and understand them."

Where was Cranmer's conscience, that this statement did not arouse him? I scarcely know a more painful and humiliating fact than the part he took in this criminal affair. It did not arise from cruelty of disposition, for his heart was humane and benevolent, but from the perverted views he had early imbibed in an intolerant and unchristian school. How bitter must the recollection of it have been during his own imprisonment at Oxford! — Strype's Mem., ii. i. 335.

CHAP. IV. to God.'” The archbishop, we are told, was deeply
 ——— affected by this speech ; but he did not interpose to
 EDWARD VI. prevent the execution, which took place May 2,
 1550.^z

Van Pare.
 April 25, 1551.

In the following year another of these disgraceful scenes was acted. George Van Pare, a surgeon, of Dutch extraction, being charged with denying the divinity of Christ, was condemned to the flames. He suffered with great constancy of mind, kissing the stake to which he was bound by his brother protestants.^a Such instances of religious faithfulness are entitled to the respect of mankind, whatever judgment may be pronounced on the opinions entertained. The sufferer for conscience' sake, to whatever school he belongs, gives the fullest proof of honest, if not of enlightened, conviction, which the condition of man permits. These executions were severely censured by many protestants, and were not unnaturally adduced by the catholics in vindication of their atrocities. Many other persons of the same persuasion with these sufferers were at this time in prison, as appears by the king's pardon issued December, 1550. “Last of all,” says Burnet, “came the king's general pardon, out of which those in the Tower or other prisons, on account of the state, as also all Anabaptists, were excepted.”^b

^z Burnet's Reform., ii. 178. Pierce's Vindication of Dissenters, 34. Heylin's Reform., 88. The attempt of Strype, Memor., ii. ii. 183, to vindicate Cranmer's memory, can scarcely be deemed successful by the most devoted of the archbishop's admirers. Mr. Todd, in his Vindication, virtually gives up the point, by merely quoting the language of Strype, p. 93, 2d ed.

^a Burnet, ii. 179. “A certain Arrian,” says Edward's Journal, April 7, 1551, “of the strangers, a Dutchman, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was, after long disputation, condemned to the fire.”

^b Ibid., 227. Strype, writing of the year 1550, says, “Sectaries appeared now in Essex and Kent, sheltering themselves under the profession of the gospel; of whom

Happily for the reputation of the English Reformers, no other executions on account of religious opinions took place during this reign. In their calmer moments, they probably remembered their severity with regret, and would gladly have retraced their steps, had it been within their power. The lovely spirit of Christianity could not fail ultimately to mitigate the rigor of their judgment, and to aid the charities of their heart in regaining their natural ascendancy.

The Reformation effected under Edward the Sixth, whatever imperfections attended its progress, or however incomplete the state in which it was left, must be regarded with devout gratitude by every advocate of religious liberty and scriptural truth. The offices of the church were reformed, many vestiges of superstition removed, and a freer circulation was given to the word of life. The Reformation of Henry was mainly characterized by a rejection of the pope's supremacy; but that of his son consisted in the erection of a new constitution, more rational in its principles, and more simple in its form. The former monarch exulted in overthrowing the power of the papacy; the latter, in rooting out its errors. The one was a vindictive destroyer, who found his happiness in the ruins

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Character of
the Reforma-
tion of Ed-
ward.

complaint was made to the council. These were the first that made separation from the reformed Church of England, having gathered congregations of their own. The congregation in Essex was mentioned to be at Bocking; that in Kent was at Feversham, as I learn from an old register. From whence I also collect, that they held the opinions of the Anabaptists and

Pelagians; that there were contributions made among them for the better maintaining of their congregations; that the members of the congregation in Kent went over unto the congregation in Essex, to instruct and to join with them; and that they had their meetings in Kent in diverse places beside Feversham."--Mem. ii. i. 369.

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with which he surrounded himself ; while the other, with the beneficent spirit of Christianity, sought, according to the measure of his knowledge, to communicate to his subjects the elements of eternal life. It were absurd to suppose that, at the commencement of his reign, Edward could give a rational assent to the measures of his council. In the latter years of his life, however, there is reason to believe that he took an active and enlightened part in ecclesiastical affairs. Without adopting the exaggerated and fulsome terms in which it has been customary with protestant writers to speak of this youthful monarch, we may affirm his intellect to have been matured, and his principles fixed, far beyond his years. The instructions of his tutors were received with docility by his virtuous mind, and served to qualify him, at a very early age, to preside over the deliberations of a great and powerful nation. As soon as he became rationally cognizant of what was taking place, he entered with the ardor of youth on the work of reformation, and would probably have proceeded much further, had he not been checked by the interposition of his advisers.^c His piety seems to have been undoubted,

^c Speaking of *discipline*, Edward says, " But because those bishops who should execute it—some for papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill name, some for all these—are unable to execute discipline, it is therefore a thing unmeet for these men : wherefore it were necessary, that those who were appointed to be bishops or preachers, were honest in life, and learned in their doctrine ; that by rewarding of such men, others might be allured to follow their

good life. As for the prayers and divine service, it were meet the faults were drawn out (as it was appointed) by learned men, and so the book to be established, and all men willed to come thereunto to hear the service, as I have put in remembrance in articles touching the statutes of this parliament. But as for discipline, I would wish no authority given generally to all bishops, but that commission be given to those that be of the best sort of them to exercise it in their dioceses."

and his errors are to be attributed to his education rather than to the promptings of his own heart.

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Cranmer and the other divines with whom he acted were sincerely attached to the doctrines of the Reformation. With all their imperfections, they were men of a high and noble spirit, who zealously laboured in the cause of human improvement. Their situation was perplexing and difficult, almost beyond example; and an impartial posterity, in pronouncing sentence on their conduct, is bound to remember the wayward and cruel policy of Henry, as well as the covetousness and ambition of the courtiers of his son. Had Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and their brethren, been permitted to act out their principles, the English Reformation would probably have assumed a different character. Cranmer is reported to have drawn up a Book of Prayers a hundred times more perfect than that in use; "yet the same cannot take place," it was affirmed, "for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, with other enemies."^d That extensive dissatisfaction existed amongst the Reformers is unquestionable. The principle of concession to the papists, on which the offices of the church had been constructed, was regarded by the more zealous as a sacrifice to expediency, uncalled for by existing circumstances, and unjustifiable in principle. "Diverse there

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—Remains, No. ii. The reader who wishes to see additional evidence of Edward's disposition to further reform, may consult Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, i. 66—68, and Pierce's Vindication, p. 12.

^d Troubles at Frankfort, Phœ-

nix, ii. 82. Mr. Strype is in error in representing this (Life of Cranmer, i. 381) as the report of Bullinger. It was the report of one of Dr. Cox's party, as may be seen by an inspection of the book itself.

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were now," says Strype, "in this king's reign, that liked so little of popery, that they thought it highly convenient not to symbolize with that church in any of its usages. And that gave occasion to them to dislike, particularly, two things; viz., the posture of kneeling at the reception of the communion, and the priestly habits, which were not laid aside by the reformers of this church from papal innovations. The retaining of these gave the more disgust, because it was contrary to the example of many of the foreign Reformers, as those of Switzerland and Geneva; whose books and judgments swayed greatly, and were much used here."^e

Reformation
injured by the
rapacity of
courtiers.

Much injury was done to the Reformation by the vicious life of many professors, and by the notorious rapacity of its political agents.^f The courtiers of Edward continued the practice of their predecessors, by sharing amongst themselves the spoils of a vanquished church. "You have had among you," said Edward to one of them who advised the king to make the bishops surrender their temporalities, "the commodities of the abbeyes, which you have consumed—some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cards, and other ungracious rule; and

^e Strype's Mem., ii. ii. 32. John Knox was at this time, 1552, preaching in England; and having refused a living to which he was recommended by the council, he was called before them, April 14, and asked "Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the rites and laws of the realm of England?" To which he said, "that many things at that time were worthy of reformation in the ministry of England, without the reformation

whereof no minister did or could discharge his conscience before God. For no ministers in England had power to separate the lepers from the heal; which was, he said, a chief point of his office." They asked him if kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent? He answered, that Christ's action was most perfect, and that it was most sure to follow his example; and that kneeling was man's addition and invention."—*Ibid.*, p. 72.

^f Burnet's Reform., iii. 325.

now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise. Set your hearts at rest; there shall no such alteration be made while I live." On one occasion Ridley was commanded by the council not to fill up a vacant stall in St. Paul's, as it was designed to reserve its income for the furniture of the king's stable. The bishop immediately wrote to Mr. Cheke, entreating his aid to prevent such a profanation. "Alas, Mr. Cheke," he says, "this seemeth unto me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak, for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do any good withall." ^g The whole character of the Reformation suffered from the erroneous principles on which it was conducted. The exercise of authority, and the allurements of wealth, though they induce external conformity, are incapable of moulding the religious sympathies and affections of the human mind. The Reformers unhappily appealed to these, and, as a natural consequence, were compelled to admit the influence of ambitious and unprincipled men over their proceedings. Regarding the secular power as the only legitimate agent of religious revolution, they waited its pleasure, and submitted to its caprice. Force was thus substituted for persuasion, and the homage of hypocrisy or the submission of indifference was accepted in the place of enlightened conviction. Could we divest ourselves of prejudice, and look at Christianity in its simple and divine character, nothing would be regarded as more absurd or ridiculous than an attempt to change the religion of a nation by legislative enact-

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^g Ridley's Life of Ridley, 360.

CHAP. IV. —————
EDWARD VI. ments. The means employed would appear so incompatible with the end contemplated, that we should feel constrained to doubt the sincerity, or to deny the intelligence, of those who advised them.

The Reformers, moreover, were inconsistent with themselves. Their secession from Rome was only to be justified on the ground of the right of private judgment and the sufficiency of the scriptures as a rule of faith. To these they appealed in their controversies with papists, and were uniformly triumphant. They constituted their strong-hold, whence no subtlety or erudition could dislodge them. But they renounced these principles in requiring the early separatists to believe at the mandate of others, or to substitute the authority of the prince or of the priest for the pure word of God. It was in defence of the first and most elementary principles of protestantism, that the puritans suffered and died. Their memories were defamed by the men of their day, as their persons and property were outraged; but an enlightened posterity is vindicating their name, and assigning them a place amongst the illustrious dead. It is, however, but an act of common justice to state, that no extensive religious revolution has been effected with less expense of life than that of Edward. If the English Reformers were not better instructed in the nature of religious liberty than the catholics, they were more humane in their temper. "It is praise enough for young Edward," remarks Sir James Mackintosh, "that his gentleness, as well as his docility, disposed him not to shed blood. The fact, however, that the blood of no Roman catholic was spilt on account of religion in Edward's reign, is indisputable. The pro-

testant church of England did not strike the first blow. If this proceeded from the virtue of the counsellors of Edward, we must allow it to outweigh their faults; if it followed from their fortune, they ought to have been envied by their antagonists. Truth and justice require it to be positively pronounced, that Gardiner and Bonner cannot plead the example of Cranmer and Latimer for the bloody persecution which involved in its course the destruction of the protestant prelates. The antitrinitarian and the anabaptist, if they had regained power, might indeed have urged such a mitigation; but the Roman catholic had not even the odious excuse of retaliation.”^h

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^h Hist. of England, ii. 271, 319.

CHAPTER V.

MARY.

Proclaimed Queen—Her tolerant Professions—Leading Protestants imprisoned—Parliament summoned—Edward's Laws repealed—Wyatt's Revolt unfavourable to the Protestants—Kingdom reconciled to the Papacy—Ancient Laws against Heretics revived—Martyrdom of John Rogers—Laurence Saunders—Hooper—The Work of Persecution devolved on Bonner—Martyrdom of Bradford—Latimer and Ridley—Cranmer—Protestants hold private Meetings—Number of Protestants burnt—Troubles at Frankfort.

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Mary proclaimed
queen.
July 18, 1553.

EDWARD was succeeded by his sister, Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Arragon, a devoted zealot of the Roman church. It is not necessary to detail, at any considerable length, the atrocities of her ill-fated and sanguinary reign. Her title, as the daughter of Henry the Eighth, soon enabled her to defeat the ambitious designs of the duke of Northumberland; who, to perpetuate his power, had induced the late king to alter the succession in favour of lady Jane Grey, the wife of his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley. Mary was proclaimed at St. Paul's Cross on the 18th of July, and made her triumphant entry into London on the 3rd of the following month. The Reformers were now doomed to experience the evil tendency of some of their principles. They had acknowledged and acted on the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown;

and had obtained some benefits by doing so. But they were now to learn, in the bitter school of persecution, that those benefits were partial and temporary. It is well observed by Neal, "that an absolute supremacy over the consciences of men, lodged with a single person, may as well be prejudicial as serviceable to true religion ; for if king Henry the Eighth, and his son, king Edward the sixth, reformed some abuses by their supremacy, against the inclinations of the majority of the people, we shall find queen Mary making use of the same power to turn things back into their old channel, till she had restored the grossest and most idolatrous part of popery."ⁱ

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Her tolerant
professions.

Mary assumed, at first, a mild and tolerant tone. When lady Jane Grey was proclaimed by the council, Mary retired to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, the inhabitants of which, notwithstanding their protestantism, rallied round her, promising their aid, "so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion which her brother, king Edward, had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted, received by the consent of the whole realm." "To this condition," says Fox, "she agreed, with such promise made unto them that no innovation should be made of religion, as that no man would or could then have misdoubted her."^j Much to the same purpose was the declaration she made to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, on her coming to the Tower, "that though her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or strain other people's consciences otherwise than God shall,

ⁱ Hist. of Puritans, i. 70. ^j Acts and Mon., iii., 12.

CHAP. as she trusteth, put in their hearts a persuasion of
V. the truth.”^k But this politic disguise was soon

MARY. abandoned. Gardiner and Bonner were released
from imprisonment, and the former was made lord
chancellor. They were also restored to their bishop-

Aug. 13. rics, together with Heath, Day, and Tonstal. A
tumult having taken place at St. Paul’s, occasioned
by some severe reflections of Bourn, a chaplain
of Bonner, on the ecclesiastical proceedings of
Edward’s reign, a proclamation was issued on the
18th, declaring that the queen, “considering the
great danger that had come to the realm by the
differences in religion, did declare for herself, that
she was of that religion that she had professed from
her infancy, and that she would maintain it during
her time, and be glad that all her subjects would
charitably receive it. Yet she did not intend to
compel any of her subjects to it, till public order
should be taken in it by common assent ; requiring
all, in the mean while, not to move sedition or
unquietness till such order should be settled ; and
not to use the name of papist or heretic, but to live
together in love, and in the fear of God ; but if
any made assemblies of the people, she would take
care they should be severely punished ; and she
straitly charged them, that none should preach, or
expound scripture, or print any books or plays,
without her special license.”^l This suspension of
the liberty of preaching was but an imitation of the
policy of the last reign. Edward’s counsellors had
assumed the same authority, and had been applauded
for doing so by the most zealous Reformers: but
now, the supremacy was vested in a papist, whose

^k Burnet’s Reform., iii. 331. ^l Ibid., ii. 380. Strype’s Mem., iii. i. 38.

designs and hopes were all centred in the restoration of the ancient faith. The march of persecution proceeded with unexampled rapidity. The measures of the court were urged forward with a celerity which betokened the mixture of personal animosity with religious rancour. The bitterness of revenge was added to the ferocious and blood-thirsty propensities of the bigot. Several of the most eminent protestants, among whom were Bradford, Rogers the proto-martyr, Hooper bishop of Gloucester, Coverdale of Exeter, and Dr. Cox the late king's tutor, were committed to prison during the first month of the queen's residence in her metropolis. In September, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were committed to the Tower, and in the following month, the archbishop of York.^m Some of these were apprehended on a charge of treason for the part they had taken on behalf of lady Jane Grey; but the proceedings which were subsequently adopted against them prove that the real ground of their committal, and that which constituted their unpardonable sin, was the zeal they had exhibited in the cause of the Reformation.

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Protestants
imprisoned.

But the hands of the Romanists were bound till a repeal of the laws of Edward the Sixth could be obtained. The leading protestants had been apprehended on various charges, but could not be proceeded against as heretics, till the laws under which they had acted were annulled, and others substituted which enforced the faith and worship of the proscribed church. To remove this obstruction, as well as to pass some private acts of favour to the duke of Norfolk and others, parliament was sum-

Parliament
summoned.

^m Burnet's Reform., iii. 333. Strype's Memorials, iii. i. 77.

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moned to meet in the early part of October. The usual method of influencing the elections was resorted to by the court, with such success as to demonstrate the insecure and precarious condition in which religion must ever be placed, if dependant on the patronage of a court, or the votes of a political assembly. Both Henry and Edward had met with obsequious parliaments, which did little more than register their edicts. The pleasure of the monarch was soon embodied in the form of law, however extensive the alteration he proposed. One change after another had thus been sanctioned, with scarcely an appearance of opposition; and yet no sooner was Mary established on the throne, than a parliament assembled as ready to condemn the Reformation, and to reconcile the nation to Rome, as any of its predecessors had been to sanction the revolt which Henry had commenced, and his son had widened.

Edward's
laws repealed.
1553.

On the last day of October, a bill was sent down to the commons, for the repeal of king Edward's laws respecting religion, which was carried after a discussion of six days. "The preamble sets forth the great disorders which had fallen out in the nation by the changes that had been made in religion, from that which their forefathers had left them by the authority of the catholic church; thereupon all the laws that had been made in king Edward's time about religion were now repealed, and it was enacted, that, from the 20th of December next, there should be no other form of divine service but what had been used in the last year of king Henry the Eighth, leaving it free to all till that day, to use either the books appointed by king

Edward, or the old ones, at their pleasure.”ⁿ By this one statute, as Heylin remarks, “not only all things were reduced to the same estate in which they stood at Edward’s coming to the crown; but all those bishops and priests which had married by authority of the former statutes, were made uncanonical, and consequently obnoxious to a deprivation. So that for want of canonical ordination on the one side, and under colour of uncanonical marriages on the other, we shall presently find such a general remove amongst the bishops and clergy, as is not any where to be paralleled in so short a time.”

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The revolt of sir Thomas Wyatt, who rallied the men of Kent around his standard, to prevent the marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, proved highly unfavourable to the protestants. He appears to have been a brave and patriotic youth, who anticipated that England would become a mere province of Spain, and be ruled with the same iron sceptre as had been extended over the Netherlands. Failing in his enterprise, he involved lady Jane Grey and her husband in his ruin, exposed the princess Elizabeth to imminent danger, and afforded occasion to Gardiner and his associates to charge the protestants with disloyalty. Though his procla-

Revolt of
Wyatt un-
favourable
to the Pro-
testants.
1554.

ⁿ Burnet’s Reform., ii. 395. This act repealed no less than nine statutes, all designed to advance the Reformation. These were: First—An act for receiving the communion in both kinds. Secondly—For vesting the election of bishops in the crown, &c. Thirdly—For the uniformity of public worship. Fourthly—For the abrogation of all laws against the marriage of priests. Fifthly

—For the removal of various books and images. Sixthly—For the ordering of ecclesiastical ministers. Seventhly—For the uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. Eighthly.—For the keeping of certain fast-days; and Ninthly—For the explanation of the previous statute respecting the marriage of priests, &c.—Strype’s Memor., iii. i. 83. Heylin’s Reform., 28.

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V.

MARY.

mation made no reference to religion, and explicitly affirmed that his sole design was to preserve the liberty of the kingdom, by preventing its falling under the yoke of foreigners; yet those who thirsted for the blood of Cranmer and his brethren took advantage of the insurrection of Wyatt to urge the necessity of severe measures against the adherents of the reformed faith. A visitation of the clergy was appointed, with a view of removing such as were favourable to the protestant doctrine, and vast numbers were expelled on this account, as well as on the ground of their marriage or some other uncanonical circumstance.^o “The married clergy,” it has been remarked, with equal beauty and truth, “were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors; the honour of their wives and children were at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name and a virtuous example, combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it.”^p

Kingdom re-
conciled to
the Papacy.
1554.

At length it was determined formally to reconcile the kingdom to Rome. For this purpose Cardinal Pole received a special commission from the

^o Archbishop Parker states the number of deprived ministers to be twelve thousand; but in this he is unquestionably mistaken. The calculation of Burnet is more probable. He takes the diocese of Norwich, nearly an eighth part of the kingdom, for his data, and finding there were three hundred and thirty-five deprived in it, he calculates that the whole number

was somewhat below three thousand.—Hist. of Reform., iii. 339. But Norfolk was an eminently protestant district, and Burnet’s calculation, it may therefore be presumed, is too high. Dr. Lingard, taking his ratio from the diocese of Canterbury, thinks the number did not exceed one thousand five hundred.

^p Book of the Church, ii. 151.

pope, with which he arrived in England at the end of November, 1554, his own attainder having previously been repealed. The former parliaments of this reign had restored religion to the state in which Henry left it; but it was now resolved to retrace the steps which that capricious monarch had taken, by reuniting the nation to the papal see. Parliament was accordingly summoned to meet in November, great pains being taken to secure the return of devoted and zealous catholics. Pole addressed the two houses, thanking them for the Act they had passed in his favor; and added, "This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build; I come to reconcile, not to condemn; I am not come to compel, but to call again; I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness."^q Two days afterward the two houses presented an address to the king and queen, praying, "That whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible defection and schism from the apostolic see, they did now most heartily repent of it; and, in sign of their repentance, were ready to repeal all the laws made in prejudice of that see; therefore, since the king and queen had been no way defiled by their schism, they pray them to be intercessors with the legate to grant them absolution, and to receive them again into the bosom of the church."^r With this request Philip and Mary complied, and the cardinal, in the pope's name, absolved "all

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Nov. 1554.

^q Fox, iii. 90.^r Burnet's Reform., ii. 454. Fox, iii. 90.

CHAP. those present, and the whole nation, and the
V. dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and

MARY. all judgments, censures, and penalties, for that cause incurred; and restored them to the communion of holy church in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." This restoration of England to the papal see, was welcomed throughout Europe, as an earnest of the speedy suppression of Protestantism. The English catholics rejoiced in the second conversion of their country to Christianity; while those of the continent regarded with still greater complacency the system which could thus regain its supremacy in the very heart of disaffection and revolt. A considerable difficulty was experienced by the parliament in framing the Act of repeal. Many of the statutes of Henry, and some of Edward, vested the property of the church in the crown, or disposed of it in other equally uncanonical ways. This was now extensively distributed amongst the nobility and courtiers, who were by no means disposed to relinquish their share of the spoil, however servilely they might adopt their monarch's creed. Some security was therefore demanded for the possessors of abbey-lands, which the pope and cardinal hesitated for a time to give. But the necessity of the case determined their conduct, and the condition was ultimately granted. So little of principle was there in this renunciation of protestantism and return to popery, that if security had not been given to the holders of church property, their consciences would have permitted them to continue in what they hypocritically pronounced to be "a most horrible defection and schism." They had no objection to follow the religion of their monarch, if they

might retain the wealth of which they had robbed it, and the holding of which their adopted faith condemned as an act of impiety and sacrilege. So strangely mixed are the elements of human action; so anomalous the principles which form the character and regulate the conduct of mankind. The parliament having obtained satisfaction from Pole, a bill was passed, setting forth their former schism from Rome, and present reconciliation, and their repeal of all Acts against that see, passed since the twentieth of Henry the Eighth. Thus, by one sweeping act of legislation, all that had been done for the advancement of the Reformation was swept away. The system which had slowly grown out of the ignorance and superstition of mankind was restored to its forfeited supremacy; and afforded another opportunity of developing its character, and of proving, more completely than ever it had yet done, its incompatibility with freedom of thought and the wide extension of knowledge.

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The nation was not long reconciled to the papacy before the sanguinary spirit of its adopted *faith* was seen. A bill was introduced to the lower house on the 12th of December, and sent up to the lords on the 15th, for reviving the laws of Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, against heretics. The most important of these statutes was that of Henry the Fourth, which prescribed the mode of putting heretics to death, enjoining the sheriff or local magistrate to receive them from the diocesan, "and then, on a high place, before the people, to cause them to be burnt." The ancient writ, "on burning a heretic," was founded on this statute. The clergy were thus

Ancient laws
against heretics
revived.
Dec. 1554.

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John Rogers
burnt at
Smithfield.

Jan. 22, 1555.

Jan. 29.

armed with tremendous power, which they soon put into fearful operation. The liberty and life of the commonwealth were intrusted to their hands, and they proceeded to do with them according to the dictates of an inhuman bigotry. The machinery of persecution being prepared, it was determined by some public example to strike terror into the protestant faction, and, if possible, subdue their intractable spirits. John Rogers, a prebend of St. Paul's, was the first victim selected. He was esteemed one of the most learned of the Reformers, and his zeal was proportioned to his learning. After being confined for some time to his own house, he was summoned before the council, where he underwent a long examination by Gardiner, in answer to whom he declared, "I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church, four hundred years after Christ." Being urged with the inconsistency of his present declaration with the acknowledgment of the supremacy of Henry, he replied, "I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God." After several examinations, he was degraded, and delivered over to the sheriff as an obstinate heretic. He requested permission to see his wife before his execution, "for she hath ten children," said he, "that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do." But this request was brutally denied by Gardiner, who,

adding insult to cruelty, told his victim, "She is not thy wife." He was burnt in Smithfield, his pardon being offered him at the stake, if he would recant; but he preferred death to a protracted life, degraded and rendered miserable by a sense of guilt.^s

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Feb. 4.

Four days after Laurence Saunders was burnt at Coventry. He was apprehended for preaching contrary to the queen's prohibition, and after being detained a long time in prison, was degraded by Bonner. Fox tells us the jailor had strict charge not to permit any one to speak to him. His wife was consequently refused admission; but the keeper, himself probably a father, took the babe from her arms, and carried it to Saunders. He was delighted with the sight of his child, exclaiming, "What man, fearing God, would not lose this life present, rather than, by prolonging it here, he should judge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?" He likewise was offered a pardon at the stake, but stedfastly refused it, and died exclaiming, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life."^t

Laurence
Saunders at
Coventry.
Feb. 8.

On the following day bishop Hooper suffered martyrdom at Gloucester, whither he had been conveyed from London, the queen's counsellors thinking to strike terror throughout his diocese by so signal an example of severity. Immediately on the accession of Mary, he had been entreated by many

Hooper at
Gloucester.
Feb. 9.

^s Fox, iii. 98.

^t Ibid., iii. 108.

CHAP. friends to consult his safety by leaving the kingdom,
V.

— as his zeal and untiring diligence, together with

MARY. the part he had taken against Bonner, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the popish faction. But he stedfastly refused, saying, with Roman heroism, sanctified by Christian principle, "Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am throughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and dye with my sheep." He was committed to the Fleet, September 1, 1553, and endured great sufferings from the barbarity of his keeper. "I have suffered imprisonment," he writes, shortly before his death, "almost eighteen months; my goods, living, friends, and comfort, taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death." Various methods were employed to induce Hooper to return to the papal church. His high reputation in the protestant body rendered his conversion eminently desirable in the judgment of the catholic prelates. But he resisted their solicitations, and was consequently degraded from his ministry, and condemned to the flames. When he understood that he was to be sent to Gloucester, he "rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him

amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory." On his arrival in Gloucester, Sir Anthony Kingston, an old friend, waited on him, and, bursting into tears, reminded him that life was sweet and death bitter, and therefore entreated him to submit to the ruling power. "True it is," replied the Christian martyr, "that death is bitter, and life is sweet; but, alas! consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word." When engaged in prayer at the place of execution, a box was laid before him containing his pardon, if he would recant; but he exclaimed, "If you love my soul, away with it." His sufferings were fearfully aggravated by the greenness of the wood, which rendered it necessary to kindle the fire three times, so that the lower part of his body was burned without the upper part being much injured. His patience and self-possession, however, never left him, and he died a monument of sustaining grace, in circumstances the most agonizing that can be imagined.^u

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^u Fox, iii. 119. Hooper's oratory was much dreaded by his persecutors. Orders were there-

fore sent to the authorities at Gloucester, to prevent his addressing the people at the time of

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The work of
persecution
devolved upon
Bonner.

These terrible examples of the fierce and destructive intolerance of popish counsellors were far from producing the effect which had been anticipated. Gardiner expected to terrify the whole party into submission, by a few executions; and when he perceived his mistake, he was desirous to avoid the odium of a butchery which he had not sufficient virtue or humanity to prevent. His participation in blood, unlike that of Bonner, was mainly prompted by a cold-hearted policy. He did not delight in the sufferings of his victim, but regarded them as the means of advancing the interest of his party. When policy, therefore, no longer urged sanguinary measures, the work of slaughter was left to Bonner, one of those vulgar and brutal spirits who find their appropriate occupation in the infliction of suffering on the more virtuous members of society. The nation was amazed at such proceedings. The constancy of the martyrs confirmed their brethren in the Protestant faith, while their sufferings awakened a detestation of popery, which rendered its subsequent overthrow comparatively easy.

The work of slaughter was, as yet, but commenced. From the various prisons of the kingdom, and especially from those of London, victims were selected from time to time, as offerings to the papal Moloch. Scarcely a week passed without some of

his execution. "Because this Hooper is, as all heretics are, a vain-glorious person; and if he have liberty to speak, he may persuade such as he has seduced to persist in the miserable opinions that he hath taught them;

therefore strict order is given, that neither at his execution, nor in going to the place of it, he be suffered to speak at large; but that he be led quietly, and in silence, for avoiding farther infection."—Burnet's Reform., iii. 362.

these terrible exhibitions. Bradford, an eminent preacher, suffered in July with a cheerful countenance, saying to his youthful companion, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night." And on the 16th of the following October, Latimer and Ridley,—the former greatly advanced in years and venerable for integrity and zeal, the latter amongst the most moderate and learned of the protestant divines,—were burnt at Oxford.^v "Be of good heart, brother," said Ridley to Latimer, at the stake, "for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it;" to whom Latimer, when a kindled fagot was laid at the feet of Ridley, replied, "Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

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Bradford,
July 1, 1555.

Latimer and
Ridley, Oct.
16.

Cranmer, who had been removed from the Tower to Oxford with Latimer and Ridley, was spared for some months longer than his brethren. His gentle and timorous disposition being known to his adversaries, they hoped, by addressing his fears, to induce him to recant. He was apprehended on a charge of treason in September, 1553, of which he was convicted in the following month. For this crime he solicited and obtained pardon, protesting

Cranmer.

^v Ridley might have been prosecuted for treason, having preached against the title of Mary, and in support of Jane Grey, thus rendering, as sir James Mackintosh remarks, "almost the only perilous act of homage to the unfortunate Jane, after she began her fleeting reign." But his bigoted persecutors preferred a

course which, involving, in their judgment, an exclusion from the mercies of God, precipitated their victim into a deeper abyss of misery than any temporal sentence could have done. So futile is the extenuation which Dr. Lingard and other catholic historians have attempted of the enormities of this reign.

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Feb. 14, 1556.

that he had opposed the late king's alteration of the succession, and had at length most reluctantly signed his will, in compliance with his urgent and repeated solicitation. Commissioners were appointed to try him on the charge of heresy, who sat at Oxford, September 12, 1555. Cranmer maintained his cause with his usual temper and learning, refusing to acknowledge the pope's authority, or to retract the doctrines he had preached. He was degraded in the following February, by Bonner and Thirleby; the former displaying his accustomed brutality, and the latter, remembering the many benefits he had received from Cranmer, protesting, with many tears, it was the most sorrowful action he had ever performed. Cranmer now addressed the queen, setting forth the reasons of the ecclesiastical changes of which he had been instrumental during the reigns of her father and brother. His enemies saw in this correspondence the indications of infirmity, and determined to profit by them. He was removed from prison to the house of the dean of Christchurch, where he was courteously entertained, and his hopes and fears were alternately aroused. Some of his visitors were probably sincere in their professions of regard; but the principal agents in this diabolical plot were intent on the destruction of his character, without the slightest intention of sparing his life. They had resolved on his death, but they wished to embitter it by a sense of guilt, and to divest it of the glory of martyrdom. "They told him," says the martyrologist, "how the council and the noblemen bare him goodwill. They put him in hope that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient

dignity, saying, it was but a small matter, and so easy, that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe a few words with his own hand . . . but if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon ; for the queen was so purposed, that she would have *Cranmer* a catholic, or else no *Cranmer* at all." Unhappily for the reputation of *Cranmer*, he yielded to their solicitations, and set his hand to a paper, renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zuinglius, admitting the pope's supremacy, the corporal presence, and all the other distinguishing doctrines of the papacy.* The duplicity and blood-thirstiness of his enemies were now revealed. The queen could not forgive the part he had taken in her mother's divorce. His recantation had freed him from the guilt of heresy ; yet she determined to gratify her revengeful spirit by visiting him with

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* *Cranmer's* recantation was repeated several times, so humiliating and abject was his fall. Protestant writers have generally shown a disposition to conceal this fact. But *Strype*, though sufficiently partial to the Reformers, tells us, "Our writers mention only one recantation, and that *Fox* hath set down, wherein they follow him. But this is but an imperfect relation of this good man's frailty ; I shall therefore endeavour here to set down this piece of his history more distinctly. There were several recanting writings to which *Cranmer* subscribed one after another ; for after the unhappy bishop, by over persuasion, wrote one paper with his subscription set to it, which he thought to pen so favourably and dexterously for himself, that he might evade both the danger from the state, and the danger of his conscience too ; that would not serve, but another was required

as explanatory of that. And when he had complied with that, yet either because writ too briefly or too ambiguously, neither would that serve, but drew on a third, yet fuller and more expressive than the former. Nor could he escape so, but still a fourth and a fifth paper of recantation was demanded of him, to be more large and more particular ; nay, and lastly, a sixth, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgment of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome, an abhorrence of his own books, and a vilifying of himself as a persecutor, a blasphemer, a mischief-maker ; nay, and as the wickedest wretch that lived."—*Mem.* iii. i. 391. The degree of doubt which attaches to the recantations of *Cranmer*, as published by *Bonner*, may be learnt from *Todd's Vindication*, &c., p. 116.

CHAP. its severest penalties. Cranmer accordingly pre-
V. ————— prepared himself for death. His virtues survived his

MARY. fall, and shed over the closing scene of his life a
lustre which has enshrined him in the memory and
March 21. affection of his countrymen. Some hope of life
appears to have been entertained till the morning
of his execution. Perceiving then the design of
his persecutors, he resolved openly to confess his
apostasy, and to warn others from treading in his
steps. Shame and grief possessed his soul. He
had belied his conscience to save his life, so that a
debasing sense of guilt was now added to the bitter-
ness of disappointment. He was removed to St.
Mary's church, where Dr. Cole preached, hypocri-
tically professing a concern for his welfare, and
encouraging him to believe that the promise of
Christ to the penitent thief would be fulfilled in
his case. "I shall not need," says a catholic eye-
witness, "for the time of sermon, to describe his
behaviour, his sorrowful countenance, his heavy
cheer, his face bedewed with tears; sometime lifting
his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them
down to the earth for shame : to be brief, an image
of sorrow ; the dolour of his heart bursting out at
his eyes in plenty of tears ; retaining ever a quiet
and grave behaviour." His hearers pitied him,
imagining that his tears flowed from a sense of guilt
in having departed from the papal church. Cran-
mer, however, undeceived them in his address.
"And now I come," said he, "to the great thing
that troubleth my conscience more than any other
thing that ever I said or did in my life ; and that
is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the
truth. Which here now I renounce and refuse as

things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be ; and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished ; for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine." His enemies, enraged beyond measure at this declaration, hurried him to the stake ; " where, with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste. Fire being now put to him," says the same impartial witness, " he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body ; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, *This hand hath offended*. As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while. His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time ; but seeing that not the death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every

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man; but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcase, that counted not of the folly. Other, that passed not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love; his enemies, for pity; strangers, for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound to one another." Such is the account of Cranmer's appearance and deportment, furnished by an eye-witness whose humanity controlled, if it could not eradicate, the prejudices of his creed. While we deplore the weakness of Cranmer, we must not forget his many virtues. Had his enemies permitted him to survive his fall, it might have been difficult to vindicate his memory; but the extent of their malice produced a reaction in their victim's heart, which regained him the sympathy and affection of mankind. "The language of Cranmer," remarks one of the most philosophical and candid of historians, "speaks his sincerity, and demonstrates that the love of truth still prevailed in his inmost heart. It gushed forth at the sight of death, full of healing power, which engendered a purifying and ennobling penitence, and restored the mind to its own esteem after a departure from the onward path of sincerity. Courage survived a public avowal of dishonour, the hardest test to which that virtue can be exposed; and if he once fatally failed in fortitude, he in his last moments atoned for his failure by a magnanimity equal to his transgression. Let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate; others, who are not

so certain of their own steadiness, will consider his fate as perhaps the most memorable example in history, of a soul which, though debased, is not depraved, by an act of weakness, and preserved a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and, in general, its inseparable companion.”^x

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In the mean time, the protestants, undeterred by these terrible examples of severity, met privately for religious worship in different parts of the country. Numerous assemblies were held in Suffolk and Essex; and in London, a congregation of about two hundred met in various places, sometimes in Aldgate, sometimes in Blackfriars, sometimes in Thames-street, on board of ships, or in the surrounding villages, especially Islington. They were at length discovered through the treachery of Roger Serjeant, and several of them were apprehended by the queen’s vice-chamberlain, at the Saracen’s head, Islington, some of whom, after being cruelly racked in the Tower, were sentenced to the flames, which they endured with the utmost fortitude, March 28, 1558.^y But, notwithstanding the vigilance with which they were watched, and the heartless severity with which they were visited, the Reformers maintained their resolution and probably increased their numbers. They waited in hope of better days, when the memory of the martyrs should be embalmed in

Protestants
hold private
Assemblies
for Worship.

^x Mackintosh’s England, ii. 327. Such as are desirous of acquainting themselves more fully with the history of Cranmer’s trial, recantation, and death, may consult Fox’s Acts, &c., iii. 543—568. Burnet’s Reform., ii. 514—524. Strype’s Memorials of Cranmer, b. 3, chaps. xix., xx., and xxi.

Ecclesiastical Memorials, chap. xxx. Dr. Lingard’s account is unhappily characterized by the same blind spirit of party which detracts, in so many cases, from the worth of his otherwise valuable history.

^y Fox, iii. 722—729.

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Number of
Protestants
burnt, &c.

the grateful recollection of their countrymen, and their virtues extend a sanctifying influence over the institutions and spirit of the land.

The persecution of Mary raged without abatement to the close of her life, which happened November 17, 1558. The number of victims is variously calculated. In the preface to Ridley's Treatise De Cœna Domini, supposed to have been written by archbishop Grindal, it is stated that eight hundred died for religion in the first two years of the persecution. Burnet, however, after Fox, states the number burnt at two hundred and eighty-four, besides others who died from long and rigorous imprisonment.^z In a book entitled "The Executions for Treason," written by Lord Burleigh, in queen Elizabeth's time, he says, "Four hundred persons suffered publicly in queen Mary's days, besides those who were secretly murdered in prison: of these twenty were bishops and dignified clergymen; sixty were women; children, more than forty; some women big with child; one bore a child in the fire, and the child was burned."^a This is probably the nearest approach we can make to the

^z Hist. of Reform., ii. 567.

^a Ibid., iii. 397. Strype has preserved (Memor., iii. ii. 554) an exact catalogue of the number, places, and state of these executions. His calculation differs very little from that of Fox and Burnet. It is as follows:

	1555	burnt	71
	1556	"	89
	1557	"	88
From Feb. to			
Sep.	1558	"	40
			— 238

"Besides those," says the memorialist, "that died of famine

in sundry prisons." From this account (and its general accuracy is unquestionable) the persecution appears to have continued without abatement to the close of Mary's life. That it was not commenced earlier is obviously attributable to the necessity of the nation being first reconciled to Rome. Dr. Lingard naturally endeavours to reduce the number of the sufferers, in order to diminish our abhorrence of his party. With what success, the reader may learn by consulting his work, vii. 234.

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facts of the case, and it exhibits a sufficiently fearful and horrifying spectacle. Religious persecution had not been unknown to our fathers, but the instances of capital punishment for heresy were few, and the interval between them had been great. They had not, however, been sufficiently numerous to impair the humanity of the nation, much less so to pervert its sympathies as to induce any complacency in these horrible exhibitions. The slaughter of Gardiner and Bonner was therefore regarded with indignation and abhorrence. Their names became hateful, and their memory has been loaded with the reproach of many generations. "It was an unusual and an ungrateful thing," says Burnet, "to the English nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen, burning in one fire; and the sparing neither sex nor age, nor blind nor lame, but making havoc of all equally, and, above all, the barbarity of Guernsey, raised that horror in the whole nation, that there seems, ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that religion, to be derived down from father to son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does, upon every new provocation, or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms." While some approach to truth can be obtained, in calculating the numbers that were burnt, it is impossible to form any adequate conception of the mass of misery which was involved in the persecutions of this period. A speedy death, though by fire, was merciful and kind, compared with the treatment which some experienced. New methods of torment were

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devised by a perverted ingenuity, which might inflict the pain, without bringing the relief, of death.

Bigotry put on its fiercest and most rancorous form, and revelled in scenes of woe which might have touched the hardest heart. It was with considerable difficulty that the princess Elizabeth, sister of the queen, escaped from the machinations of her enemies. Though she complied to a considerable extent with the forms of popery, she was strongly suspected by Gardiner of a leaning to the reformed faith, which awakened apprehensions of no pleasing kind in the breast of that sagacious and long-sighted minister. She was arrested on suspicion of being accessory to the insurrection of Wyatt, and was committed to the Tower; but, on the establishment of her innocence, was sent to Woodstock, under the custody of Sir Henry Benefield, a rigorous and brutal keeper. The counsellors of the queen were divided respecting the best way of disposing of her. One party wished to proceed against her for treason; while another, at whose head apparently was Gardiner, advocated her perpetual confinement in the Tower. Elizabeth lived in the daily expectation of death, and was probably indebted for her life to the policy of Philip, rather than to the humanity of the queen, or the justice of her advisers.

Troubles at
Frankfort.
1554.

While these events transpired in England, scenes were acting on the continent, which, from their intimate connexion with the subsequent history of our ecclesiastical institutions, demand notice. Immense numbers fled to the continent in the early part of this reign. Some of these settled at Frankfort, where they obtained from the senate the

July 14.

use of the French church, on condition of subscribing to the French creed. They immediately consulted amongst themselves about their order of service. "At length," we are told, "the English order was perused, and this by general consent was concluded, that the answering aloud after the minister should not be used, the litany, surplice, and many other things also omitted;" and in "the ministration of the sacraments, sundry things were also by common consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous." Having thus agreed on the order of their worship, and chosen a temporary minister and deacon, they addressed an affectionate and pious letter to their brethren in Strasburgh, Zurich, and other places, entreating them to remove to Frankfort, and partake of their privileges.^b This invitation, however, was declined, unless the exiles at Frankfort engaged to restrict themselves in public worship to the use of king Edward's service-book; "lest," said the brethren at Strasburgh, "by much altering of the same, we should seem to condemn the chief authors thereof, who, as they now suffer, so are they most ready to confirm that fact with the price of their blood; and should also both give occasion to our adversaries to accuse our doctrine of imperfection, and us of mutability, and the godly to doubt of that truth wherein before they were persuaded, and to hinder their coming hither, which before they had purposed." Several letters

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August 2.

Nov. 23.

^b "This," says old Fuller, whose account of this dispute (Church Hist., b. viii. 27—35) is correct and candid, "is the communion of saints, who never ac-

count themselves peaceably possessed of any happiness until (if it be in their power) they have also made their fellow-sufferers partakers thereof."—28.

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passed between the Frankfort congregation and their brethren without effect, when it was at length resolved by the former to adopt the Geneva service-book, "as an order most godly, and farthest off from superstition." John Knox, who had been chosen their minister, was accordingly requested to introduce it. But he declined to do so till further correspondence had taken place with the brethren at Strasburgh, Zurich, &c.; nor would he administer the Lord's supper according to the "book of England, for that there were many things in it placed (as he said) only by warrant of man's authority, or no ground in God's word for the same, and had also a long time very superstitiously in the mass been wickedly abused. But if he might not be suffered to minister the sacraments according to his conscience, he then requested that some other might minister the sacraments, and he would only preach: if neither could be admitted, he besought that he might be discharged." An order of service was ultimately adopted on trial; "some part taken from the English book, and other things put to, as the state of the church required." This was to continue in use till the end of April, and it was agreed to refer all disputes, which in the mean time might arise, to Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret. Great joy prevailed in the church at the harmony thus induced. "Thanks were given to God, brotherly reconciliation followed, great familiarity used, the former grudges seemed to be forgotten; yea, the holy communion was upon this happy agreement also ministered." This happy state of things continued till the 13th

of the following month, when Dr. Cox, and other exiles, who arrived from England, interrupted their worship by "answering aloud after the minister, contrary to the church's determination. The seniors of the congregation expostulated with them in vain, for on the following Sabbath one of their number, without the knowledge of the brethren, ascended the pulpit, and read the English Litany. John Knox was not the man patiently to endure such proceedings. It was his turn to preach in the afternoon, when he referred, in terms not more severe than just, to the conduct of Dr. Cox and his associates, in disturbing the harmony of a peaceful church. He condemned the English book as containing things "superstitious, impure, and imperfect," and affirmed an unwillingness to reform religion to be one of the "many things which provoked God's anger against England." A conference was held on the Tuesday following, when, with a generosity which ought to have conciliated esteem, Knox supported and carried a proposition, to give Cox and his companions a right to vote in their proceedings. The first use which they made of this privilege was the expulsion of Knox, whose talents and energy they dreaded. But this not compassing their end, they resorted to more criminal measures to drive him from the city. Knox had written a book soon after the accession of Mary, entitled, *An Admonition to Christians*, in the course of which he had severely reflected on the emperor, as the great support of popery. This book was now presented by some of Dr. Cox's party to the magistrates, as proof of treason. They were subjects of the emperor, and could not therefore omit to notice

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such a charge; but, perceiving its baseness, and entertaining a high respect for Knox, they conveyed an intimation to him, through two of his friends, that he should leave the city; "for otherwise they should be forced to deliver him, if the emperor's council (which then lay at Ausburgh) should, upon like information, send for him." Knox accordingly returned to Geneva, leaving his enemies to rejoice in their ill-gotten triumph.^c The existence of the puritan party may be dated from this dispute. The exiles continued to maintain their respective positions, and on their return to England scattered abroad the elements of that discussion, which was destined to subvert the throne, and lay the hierarchy in ruins. During the reign of Edward, individuals had expressed dissatisfaction with the English service-book and ceremonies; but from this period a party arose, steadily increasing in numbers, activity, and decision, who advocated a thorough revision of the offices, and greater sim-

^c Mr. Southey's notice of this affair betrays the same want of candour and fair dealing, which is so lamentably conspicuous throughout his polemical writings. "There had been," he says, "a dispute among the emigrants at Frankfort, during Mary's reign; it had been mischievously begun, and unwarrantably prosecuted, and its consequences were lamentably felt in England; whither some of the parties brought back with them a predilection for the discipline of the Calvinists, and a rooted aversion for whatever Catholic forms were retained in the English church. In this, indeed, they went beyond Calvin himself; refusing to tolerate what he had pronounced to be 'tolerable fooleries.' The objects of their abhorrence were the square

cap, the tippet, and the surplice, which they called conjuring garments of popery."—Book of the Church, ii. 299. It is deeply to be regretted that such a writer should permit his intellect to be clouded, and the charities of his heart to be repressed, by the prejudices of an intolerant sect. All our knowledge of these proceedings is derived from "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort," &c.; first published in 1575. It was written by one of the puritan party, but carries with it such an air of fairness and honesty, as to commend itself to impartial men. Its integrity was unimpeached by the contemporaries of its author. It is contained in the second volume of the *Phoenix*.

plicity in the worship, of the church. Though re-pressed by the vigorous policy of Elizabeth, they came forth with renovated strength on the accession of the Stuarts, and extorted from the second of that ill-fated race a recognition of their rights, and an admission of many of their principles.

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CHAPTER VI.

ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth proclaimed—Anxiety of religious Parties—Cautious Policy of the Queen—Preaching prohibited—Catholic Bishops refuse to officiate at the Queen's Coronation—Meeting of Parliament—Act of Supremacy—Of Uniformity—Convocation—Dispute at Westminster—Catholic Bishops deprived—Parker made Archbishop of Canterbury—Appointment of New Bishops—Their Aversion from the Habits—Impolicy of their Compliance—Injunctions issued—Articles of Religion set forth by the Bishops—Apparent Security, but latent Danger, of the Church.

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Proclaimed,
Nov. 17, 1558.

ELIZABETH was proclaimed on the 17th of November, 1558. She was residing at the time at Hatfield, under the custody of sir Thomas Pope; and, on being informed of the great change in her affairs, we are told she fell on her knees, exclaiming, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." She was crowned on the 15th of the following January, at Westminster; on the day previous to which, she passed through the city in great state, ingratiating herself with the people by a cheerful acknowledgment of their kindness, saying, "God bless you, my people." The temper of the citizens was shown, and the future course of the queen indicated, in an occurrence which took place as she passed under a triumphal arch in Cheapside. An old man, representing *Time*, led a child, grace-

fully apparelled as *Truth*, who handed to the queen a copy of the English bible. She received it with pleasure, and, having kissed it, laid it on her bosom, declaring it was the best present she had received that day. She found the affairs of the kingdom in a depressed and perplexing condition. The foreign administration of Mary had been as inglorious as her domestic government was intolerant; and Elizabeth consequently succeeded to an exhausted treasury, and an embarrassing war. Her first object was to surround herself with counsellors on whose integrity and wisdom she could rely: and the choice she made was proof of an enlarged intellect, and of consummate prudence. Many of the popish counsellors of her sister were re-appointed; but others, distinguished for their attachment to the Reformation, were added to them. Amongst these, sir William Cecil and sir Nicholas Bacon were the most distinguished for capacity, and occupied the highest place in the confidence of their mistress. Deep solicitude was felt throughout the nation respecting the course which the queen would adopt in religion. The hopes of the protestants decidedly preponderated. Elizabeth was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, the early patron of the Reformation. Her own legitimacy and title to the crown were identified with a denial of the pope's authority; while the wrongs she had endured at the hands of her popish sister were further adapted to cement her union with the reformed party. On the other hand, she was known to have attended mass, and in many things to have conformed to the papal institutions of the previous reign. Those who were best acquainted with her disposition and creed could

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not but suspect that the freedom of thought on which protestantism is based would meet with little favour at her hands, and that many of its doctrines would be found repugnant to her religious sympathies. Her situation also favoured a medium course, if it should not incline her wholly to adopt the ancient faith. The papacy was in apparent strength through the land. Its adherents were in possession of power, and had recently given indubitable evidence of their readiness to adopt any measures, however violent or sanguinary, by which the interests of their church might be advanced. The pope also, on the ground of her heresy, had declared her illegitimate; and Mary of Scotland, the hope of the popish party, had preferred her claim to the throne.

Cautious
policy of the
queen.

The queen, therefore, proceeded with great caution in preparing the way for that ecclesiastical revolution which she contemplated. The exiles for religion were permitted to return, and such as were imprisoned on the same account were released; but all innovations in worship were prohibited, and none of the deprived clergy were restored.^d Va-

^d When the news of Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession reached the English exiles, it naturally filled their hearts with joy. "We lifted up our hearts and voices to our heavenly Father," said the exiles at Geneva, "who hath not only, by his due providence, nourished us in our banishment, preserved us, and, as it were, carried us in his wings, but also heard our prayers, granted our requests, pitied our country, and restored his word; so that the greatness of this marvellous benefit overcometh our judgments and thoughts, how to be

able worthily to receive it, and to give thanks for the same." The letter from which this extract is taken constitutes one of the most pleasing and characteristic exhibitions of a religious spirit on record. It was addressed to the brethren at Frankfort by the church in Geneva, which consisted mainly of those who had been driven from the former city by the hostility of their fellow-exiles, and it was designed to effect a reconciliation before they returned to their native land. "What," say they, "can the papists wish more than that we

rious measures were suggested for the accomplishment of her design, but the presiding spirit of Cecil is apparent in those which were adopted.^e The cautious policy of the queen was far from securing the approval of all her protestant subjects. Ignorant of the dangers by which her throne was encompassed, or too short-sighted to trace the probable consequences of violent measures, they reproached her counsellors with weakness, or suspected them of treachery. In many parts of the country, images were removed from the churches; the Romish priests were insulted, and the service-book of Edward was set up. In hope of preventing this excess of zeal, by showing her intention of proceeding with the work of reform, the queen ordered the Gospels and Epistles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany, to be read in English.^f The pulpit now became the scene of religious contention. The advocates of the old and of the new faith availed themselves of the opportunity it afforded to engage the passions of the people on behalf of their respec-

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should dissent one from another, and, instead of preaching Jesus Christ and profitable doctrine, to contend one against another, either for superfluous ceremonies, or other like trifles; from the which God in his mercy hath delivered us. Therefore, dear brethren, we beseech you (as we doubt not your godly judgments will think it so best), that whatsoever offence hath been heretofore either taken or given, it may so cease and be forgotten, that hereafter God lay it not to our charges, if thereby his blessed word should be any thing hindered. And as we for our parts freely remit all offences, and most

entirely embrace you our dear brethren; so, we beseech you in the Lord, that unfeignedly you will do the like on your part," &c. This letter was signed by John Knox, Miles Coverdale, and others, and bears date December 15, 1553.—*Phoenix*, ii., 181.

^e Burnet, vol. iv., p. 372, and Strype, in his *Annals*, vol. i. App. iv., have preserved a copy of the plan drawn up by Cecil, with all the skill which that wary and talented minister could command. It is entitled, *The Device for Alteration of Religion in the First Year of Queen Elizabeth*.

^f Burnet, ii. 585.

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Preaching
prohibited.
Dec. 27, 1558.

tive creeds. Each appealed to topics which they deemed sacred and invincible, and urged them with a confidence and zeal unknown to modern times. Dreading the consequences of such appeals, the queen issued a proclamation commanding her subjects that "they do forbear to preach or teach, or to give audience to any manner of doctrine or preaching, other than to the gospels and epistles, or to use any other manner of public prayer, rite, or ceremony, in the church, but that which is already used, and by law received until consultation may be had by parliament,"^s &c. In thus silencing all the ministers of the kingdom, the advisers of Elizabeth acted on the same principle as their predecessors. No valid objection could be urged by any who had admitted the propriety of similar proclamations under Henry, Edward, or Mary. Each party, however, as in its turn it felt itself aggrieved, condemned this policy as unwarranted and pernicious; an assumption of authority exceeding the bounds of human legislation. The catholics, who had applauded the proclamation of Mary, bitterly censured that of her sister; while the protestants, who had complained of the former as the device of a party, to silence or entrap its opponents, acquiesced in the latter as a necessary, if not an enlightened, act of legislation. Such are the inconsistencies to which erroneous principles conduct men, and which at length become so glaring

^s Strype's Annals, i., App. iii. Amongst the petitions presented to the queen at this period, was one on behalf of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who were represented as imprisoned in a Latin translation, and for whom it was sought that they might be restored

to liberty, and walk abroad as formerly, in the English tongue. To which Elizabeth replied, that the petitioner should first endeavour to know the minds of the prisoners, who perhaps desired no such liberty as was demanded.—Heylin's Reform., 103.

and enormous as to engender suspicion, and thus lead to the detection of the latent error. An admission of the magistrate's authority to legislate for the church has subjected the latter to all the whims and caprices, to all the secularity and bad passions, by which the human mind can be agitated.

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The catholic bishops, perceiving the tendency of the queen's measures, and dreading the influence of Cecil and Bacon in her councils, refused, with the exception of Oglethorp of Carlisle, to officiate at her coronation. Some of them had complied with the ecclesiastical changes of Edward's reign, and could therefore scarcely plead conscience in the present case; but others were probably influenced by an honest, though mistaken, conviction. It has been too common with protestant writers to refuse the credit of upright motives to their catholic opponents; but the more enlightened spirit of the present day requires the same candid construction to be placed upon their actions, as is pleaded for in the case of the early reformers. We may dissent from their creed, and condemn their conduct; but it does not follow that we shall be justified in charging them with base or sinister motives.

Catholic
bishops refuse
to officiate at
the queen's
coronation.

All parties now looked with anxiety to the approaching parliament, which met January 25, 1559.

Meeting of
parliament.
1559.

Dr. Cox, one of the protestant exiles, preached on the occasion, and sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, opened the session, in a speech which sufficiently indicated the queen's design. "The matters and causes," said he, "whereupon you are to consult, are chiefly and principally three. Of those, the first is of well making of laws, for the according and uniting of these people of the realm into an uniform

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order of religion, to the honour and glory of God, the establishing of the church, and tranquillity of the realm." This object he exhorted them to seek with "all humbleness, singleness, and pureness of mind," avoiding, "as a great enemy to good council, all manner of contentions, reasonings, and disputations; and all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities; meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters, comelier for scholars than counsellors, more beseeeming for schools than for parliament houses. And like as in council," he continued, "all contention should be eschewed, even so by council provision should be made, that no contentious, contumelious, nor opprobrious words, as heretick, schismatick, papist, and such like names, being nurses of such seditious factions and sects, be used; but may be banished out of men's mouths as the causers, continuers, and increasers of displeasure, hate, and malice; and as utter enemies to all concord and unity, the very marks that you are now come to shoot at." ^h

Act of Supremacy.

The principal statutes of this session were those of supremacy and uniformity. These constitute the basis of the reformed church of England, and will be regarded as its disgrace or glory, according to the views of religious liberty which are entertained. The former was entitled, *An Act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing foreign power*. It required all archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, together with judges, justices, and all civil

^h Sir Simond D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 11, 12.

officers, to take the following oath : "I do utterly testify and declare, that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that, from henceforth, I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the queen's highness, her heirs, and lawful successors; and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities, granted or belonging to the queen's highness, her heirs, and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."ⁱ The penalty for refusing this oath was a loss of all preferment, and a permanent disqualification for filling any ecclesiastical or civil office. To maintain the supremacy of any foreign power, by writing, preaching, &c., was rendered highly penal, being visited, in the first

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ⁱ An exposition of this oath was supplied in the injunctions to the ecclesiastical visitors of 1559, whence it appears that the catholics had alleged, from the words of this oath, "that the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service in the church." For the disproof of this allegation it is stated, "Her majesty neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any other authority than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings, of famous

memory, king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward the Sixth, which is, and was of ancient time, due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall, or ought to have, any superiority over them."—Somer's Tracts, i. 73. Strype's Annals, i. i. 236. Hallam, i. 152.

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place, with loss of preferment; in the second, with the forfeitures of a premunire; and in the third place, with the punishment of treason. So severe was the policy by which it was attempted to re-establish the reformed faith. Grafting on a few scriptural principles some of the worst dogmas of popery, the founders of the English church trod in the steps of their opponents, at the very time they were proscribing their creed and imprisoning their persons. It was further provided, in this statute, that the queen and her successors should be empowered to appoint ecclesiastical commissioners, "to exercise, under her and them, all manner of jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, &c.; to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever. Provided, that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture; or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation."^j From this clause originated the court of high commission, which speedily became so fearful an instrument of clerical intolerance and civil tyranny. The commissioners appointed under this

^j Burnet, ii. 597. Strype's Annals, i. i. 100. The Act of Supremacy revived many of the laws of Henry and Edward,

which had been repealed by Mary.—Ibid., 103. Collier, ii. 421.

Act generally neglected its restrictive clauses, and greatly exceeded their delegated power. For a time their severity appeared to be successful; but the feelings of the nation were so outraged by their atrocities, that the abolition of this court was soon universally demanded.

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The Act *for the uniformity of Common Prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments*, re-established, with slight alterations, king Edward's book, which Mary had abolished. These alterations were designed to conciliate the catholics, and consisted principally in the omission of a prayer for delivery from the "tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities," and in leaving the language of the church respecting the corporal presence more general and indeterminate.¹ The clerical vestments also were restored to the state in which they were left by the *first* liturgy of Edward, and a clause was introduced empowering the queen "to ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as may be for the advancement of God's glory and edifying his church, and the reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." Elizabeth valued her ecclesiastical supremacy above all the other attributes of her crown, and was most jealous of any parliamentary interference with it. She possessed the spirit of popery under a protestant guise, and brought back the Reformation to a less perfect state than that in which it had been left by her brother Edward. It

Act of Uni-
formity.
1559

¹ Burnet, ii. 606. Strype's Annals, i. i. 104, 122. "By which compliances," says Heylin, "and the expunging of the passages before remembered, the book was made so passable

amongst the papists, that for ten years they generally repaired to their parish churches without doubt or scruple."—Hist. of Reform., p. 111. Burnet, ii. 618.

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is accurately remarked by Burnet, that “as her first impressions in her father’s reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained; so in her own nature she loved state, and some magnificence in religion, as well as in every thing else; she thought that in her brother’s reign they had stripped it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them.”^m The Act of Uniformity, like its kindred statutes, was fenced round with penalties. He who ventured to address his Maker in other language than that of the book of Common Prayer, was liable to the loss of goods and chattels for the first offence, to twelve months’ imprisonment for the second, and to confinement during life for the third. How strange it is that men bearing the Christian name should be so impious as to prescribe to the Deity the only form of supplication he shall receive! This is one of those species of infatuation, the folly of which would amuse, if its impiety did not prohibit the indulgence of levity. The statute in question affected both protestants and catholics, and was peculiarly offensive to such of the former as had imbibed an attachment to a simpler ritual, and a purer form of polity, than was established in England. It prohibited the slightest deviation from the prescribed order of public wor-

^m Reform., ii. 582. We shall subsequently have occasion to animadvert on this temper of the queen, and its infelicitous influence on the English Reformation. Many of her bishops were well disposed to a more thorough re-

form than comported with her half popish creed. Had they possessed the spirit of John Knox, they would probably have carried their views; but they trembled at the threatenings of their mistress, and acquiesced in her pleasure.

ship, and obviously assumed a principle which would go far to discredit and condemn the Reformation itself. If Elizabeth, by virtue of her office as queen, possessed the right of determining the form of public worship, that right belonged equally to her sister Mary, and the fathers of the English church were consequently wrong in refusing her obedience. But if it be alleged that the right of the former so to legislate was founded on the correctness of her creed, by whom, it may be asked, was this correctness to be determined? By Elizabeth herself, or by her subjects? If the former, why is not the same admission to be made in the case of Mary? and if the latter, where is the justice of visiting with punishment such as deemed her creed unscriptural, and her laws pernicious? Amongst the innumerable follies to which men have been addicted, none is more egregious or absurd than is exhibited in the end which this statute contemplated. Were it attainable, it would be unworthy of pursuit, for it is wholly apart from religion; and if compassed, it might exist with the greatest security where the spirit of religion is not found. To whatever extent it has been accomplished by human legislation, it has involved the corruption of Christianity, and a most unnatural and pernicious imprisonment of the human mind. What conceivable benefit would flow from the same mode of worship being enforced in every Christian assembly throughout England? But the folly of the attempt to secure uniformity of religious worship is apparent in its hopelessness. It has not, it will not, it cannot succeed. So long as religious principle endures, or the human mind retains the power of thought and

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the faculty of research, all enactments of this kind must be futile. They constitute an unnatural coercion of man's intellect; and if they appear to succeed for a season, their ultimate defeat is thereby rendered more signal. Uniformity in the modes of religion has usually been sought at the expense of its living spirit. They have been mistaken for religion itself; and the energy and zeal which ought to have been expended on the conversion of an apostate world have consequently been employed in the establishment of rites with which religion has but little if any connexion. There is not an established sect in Christendom which does not furnish confirmation of these remarks; and we shall frequently have occasion to observe the evidence of their truth which the history of our own hierarchy supplies. "The artificial religion of creeds and rituals withers and dies in the hands of the most artful priests and the most absolute and prosperous monarchs; while the artless practice of piety and virtue lives with the poor through successive generations. Penal statutes to suppress it, resemble penal statutes to cleanse the world of violets; fashion may banish them from the burgomaster's garden; but the heavens will unite to nourish them under the shade of a nettle, or at the foot of an oak."ⁿ

Convocation.

In the convocation which held its meetings during the sitting of parliament, the popish party so far prevailed as to agree on the following particulars, which they determined to present to the queen.

I. That in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the words of Christ, duly spoken by the priest, is present, *realiter*, under the kinds of bread and

ⁿ Robinson's Eccl. Researches, p. 186.

wine, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his natural blood.

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II. That after the consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of God and man.

III. That in the mass is offered the true body of Christ, and his true blood, a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and dead.

IV. That to Peter the apostle, and his lawful successors in the apostolic see, as Christ's vicars, is given the supreme power of feeding and ruling the church of Christ militant, and confirming their brethren.

V. That the authority of handling and defining concerning the things belonging to faith, sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical, hath hitherto ever belonged, and ought to belong, only to the pastors of the church, whom the Holy Ghost for this purpose hath set in the church, and not to laymen.^o

These were sent to the two universities, and, with the exception of the last, obtained the signatures of a majority of their members. Prudence, and not principle, probably induced this exception, as the design of the queen to effect extensive alterations was now apparent, and her disposition to resent any impeachment of her ecclesiastical supremacy generally suspected. She was known to possess too much of the spirit of her father patiently to endure any interference with her spiritual authority. This address of the convocation places the religious opinions of the clergy at the commencement of this reign beyond dispute: it shows that they were

^o Strype's Annals, i. i. 81. Fuller, ix. 55.

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Disputation
at Westmin-
ster.

thoroughly popish; and thus establishes, beyond dispute, the absence of moral principle in the subsequent compliance of the clerical body with the religious changes of Elizabeth's reign.

This explicit avowal of papal doctrines by the convocation probably hastened the determination of the queen's advisers to act over again the farce which had been acted under Edward and Mary. A public disputation between eight protestant and the same number of popish divines was appointed to take place at Westminster. It was arranged that the discussion should be carried on in writing, and the following questions were selected for debate. 1. Whether it was not contrary to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive church, to conduct public worship in an unknown tongue? 2. Whether every church had not authority to alter rites and ceremonies, so that it be done to edification? 3. Whether it could be proved from God's word that the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead? The protestant disputants were cheered by the spectators, to the great annoyance of their opponents, who, on the second day of meeting, refused to conform to the regulations prescribed, and the conference was therefore terminated.^p The

^p Burnet, ii. 600. Strype, i. i. 128. Collier, ii. 414. Burnet makes the number of disputants on each side to be nine; but in this he is corrected by Strype. The bishops of Wilton and Lincoln were committed to the Tower, and the other popish disputants, after being made to wait daily on the queen's council, from the 5th of April till the 12th of May, were fined in the following sums: the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, three

hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence; the bishop of Carlisle, two hundred and fifty pounds; the bishop of Chester, two hundred marks; Dr. Cole, five hundred marks; Dr. Harpsfield, forty pounds; and Dr. Chedsey, forty marks.—Strype, 140. What can Mr. Southey understand by *liberty of speech* and *perfect safety*, when, referring to this discussion, he tells us, "A public disputation was appointed, not as in Mary's reign, to be con-

one party claimed a triumph, and the other complained of a prejudgment of their case. Such is the general result of these farcical exhibitions, got up by state patrons of religion to serve their purpose.

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The act of supremacy was directed against the catholics, whose religious principles it violated by requiring a renunciation of the spiritual as well as the temporal authority of the pope.^a Many of them refused to take the oath which it prescribed, and were in consequence deprived of their preferments. Amongst these were all the bishops, with one exception. "They resolved among themselves," we are told by one who lived in those days, "not to comply to take the oath of supremacy to the queen, nor to renounce all foreign jurisdiction; going upon this policy, that the queen could not displace them, there being none else to supply the rooms and places in the church, whether dioceses or parishes."^r In

Catholic
Bishops de-
prived.
1559,

cluded by burning those who differed in opinion from the ruling party, but with full liberty of speech and perfect safety for the Romish disputants?"—Book of the Church, ii. 259.

^a The operation of this act was subsequently extended so that it might embrace a variety of cases not contemplated by its framers. "This," remarks Mr. Hallam, "was according to the invariable practice of Tudor times; an oppressive and sanguinary statute was first made, and next, as occasion might serve, a construction was put on it contrary to all common sense, in order to take away men's lives."—Constit. Hist., i. 290. In 1583, Elias Fawker and John Coppinger, two Brownists, were executed at Bury, for circulating tracts impugning

the ecclesiastical supremacy of the queen.—Strype's Annals, iii. i. 269.

^r Ibid., i. i. 155. The number of clergy who lost their preferments by refusing this oath was much smaller than might have been expected. Strype gives the following list, Ibid., 106.

Bishops	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Deans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Archdeacons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Heads of colleges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Prebendaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Rectors of churches	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80
Abbots, Priors, and Abbesses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6

In all 192

Burnet makes the number of deans 12, and of archdeacons the same. In the other items of this list he agrees with Strype.—Bur-

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this expectation they were bitterly disappointed, for the good providence of God supplied a race of dignitaries as eminent for talent, learning, and diligence, as any of whom the English church has ever had to boast. The compliance of the new bishops with the popish inclinations of the queen may be censured, and their want of charity, and almost brutal harshness, to their puritan brethren, cannot be too severely condemned; but we must not suffer their imperfections to render us insensible to their virtues; nor withhold their merited tribute of praise on account of the censure we are compelled to pass on some parts of their policy.

Parker made
Archbishop of
Canterbury.

Dr. Matthew Parker was appointed to the see of Canterbury, which honour he appears to have accepted with reluctance. He had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn; and was very strongly recommended by sir Nicholas Bacon to fill the highest station in the church. The queen could scarcely have selected an agent more compliant with her wishes, or more zealous in enforcing the most trifling and obnoxious portions of the prescribed ritual. The situation of Parker, it must be admitted, was

net's Reform., ii. 620. Collier makes the whole number to be about 250.—Eccles. Hist. ii. 431. The compliance of the catholic clergy on this occasion shows the futility of tests, however cautiously worded, as a means of securing uniformity of doctrine. They may drive the conscientious from the service of the sanctuary, but will never eject the formalist and hypocrite. How much more noble and Christian-like was the conduct of the nonconformists under Charles the Second; two thousand of whom resigned their livings rather than burden their

conscience by an unprincipled subscription! It was remarked, with equal truth and wisdom, by bishop Shipley, in the debate on the dissenters' relief bill, in 1779, "I am not afraid of those tender and scrupulous consciences, who are over cautious of professing and believing too much; if they are sincerely in the wrong, I forgive their errors, and respect their integrity. The men I am afraid of are the men who believe every thing, who subscribe every thing, and who vote for every thing."—Parl. Hist.

one of extreme difficulty and embarrassment. He lived in an age when the conduct of men outstript their theory; when the stirring influence of religious revolutions was felt, without the judgment being sufficiently enlightened to recognize the right of man to mould his worship of the Deity according to the dictates of his conscience. It was the period of attempted force and tyranny in religion; more difficult in its management than the darkest times of popery, and less peaceful than the more liberal days in which we live. There was enough of moral principle in operation to vindicate, at any risk, the doctrines of the Christian faith. Martyrs came forth from every rank, inspired with apostolic zeal, to bear witness at the stake to the truth of God. And yet so ignorant were the men of that day of the character of the movement that was taking place,—its ethereal nature and divine impulse,—that they attempted to bind it with human laws, and to fashion it at their pleasure by the gross instruments of worldly policy. Parker, like most of his brethren, had seceded from Rome without being aware of the principles which his conduct involved. He therefore attempted to establish the supremacy of his church, though he denied that of the pope; and could manifest the harshness, if not the ferocity, of an inquisitor, while professing the spirit of a meek and lowly Saviour. But his character will sufficiently appear in the course of this history.

Several of the exiles who had returned to England were appointed to the vacant sees. Grindal was made bishop of London; Cox, of Ely; Jewel, of Sarum; Parkhurst, of Norwich; and Pilkington, of Durham. These men, with many others who

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&c.

obtained preferment, had imbibed on the continent a repugnance to the habits, and some of the rites which were now enforced. They returned to their native land in hope of finding a disposition in its rulers to perfect the Reformation which had been begun, and with a determination to use whatever influence they possessed in forwarding so good a work. Their subsequent acceptance of office was not founded on an approval of all the ceremonies of the church, but on an apprehension of the reinstatement of popish dignitaries if they declined. Strype tells us, "The first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of their exiles, as Cox, Grindal, &c., upon their first return, before they entered upon their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the queen and parliament. And the habits were enacted. Then they consulted together what to do, being in some doubts whether to enter into their functions. But they concluded, unanimously, not to desert their ministry for some rites that, as they considered, were but a few, and not evil of themselves, especially since the doctrine of the gospel remained pure and entire. And in this counsel, which they had at first taken, they continued still well satisfied; and also upon the consideration that, by filling these rooms in the church, they might keep out Lutherans, and such as were suspected papists, which was an argument the learned foreigners, their friends, suggested to them."^r This fact is of considerable importance in estimating their subsequent treatment of the puritans, and in

^r Annals, i. i. 263.

determining the extent and force of those objections which that calumniated and ill-treated class urged against the vestments and ceremonies of the church. When their own judgments admitted the validity of the objections, their treatment of those who urged them should have been more mild and tolerant. But having surrendered their judgments to the popish inclinations of the queen, they were offended at others for displaying more moral courage than themselves. Their pride was wounded, and a desire of vindicating their own course led them to aggravate the guilt and to concur in the punishment of their dissenting brethren. Their repugnance to the habits and some of the ceremonies is clearly shown in their correspondence with Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and other continental Reformers.

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Jewel, writing to Peter Martyr, November 5, 1559, tells him, "that he found debates raised concerning the vestments, which he calls the habit of the stage, and wishes they could be freed from it. . . . Some, he says, studied to recommend themselves by that comical habit . . . they hoped to strike the eyes of the people with those ridiculous trifles. These are the relics of the Amorites; that cannot be denied. He wishes, that at some time or other, all these may be taken away and extirpated, to the very deepest roots. Some among them, he says, were so much set on the matter of habits, as if the Christian religion consisted in garments; but we are not called to the consultations concerning that scenical apparel; he could set no value on these fopperies. Some were crying up a golden mediocrity; he was afraid it would prove a leaden one." *

Jewel's
opinion of the
Vestments.
1559.

* Burnet, iii. 434.

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Horn.

Horn, bishop of Winchester, writing to Gualter, August 16, 1565, assures him, "the act of parliament," respecting the vestments, "was made before they were in office; so that they had no hand in making it What was once enacted in parliament could not be altered but by the same authority. The bishops had obeyed the law, thinking the matter to be of its own nature indifferent; and they had reason to apprehend that, if they had deserted their stations upon that account, their enemies might have come into their places. Yet upon this there was a division formed among them; some thought they ought to suffer themselves to be put from their ministry rather than obey the law; others were of a different mind. They were in hope to procure an alteration of the act in the next parliament; but he apprehended there would be a great difficulty in obtaining it."^t

Horn and
Grindal.

In a joint letter from Horn and Grindal, February 6, 1567, they affirm, "that they had used all possible means in that matter," referring to the clerical habits, "and had, with the utmost earnestness, and the most sincere diligence, laboured to obtain that which their brethren desired, and which they themselves wished for;" and then proceed to state the objections they entertain to other parts of the ceremonial.^u

Pilkington.

Pilkington also writes to Gualter, that "the disputes which began about the vestments were carried much further, even to the whole constitution. Pious people lamented this; atheists laughed at it; and the papists blew the coals, and were full of hopes upon it. The blame of all was cast on the

bishops. He adds, I confess we suffer many things against our hearts, groaning under them ; we cannot take them away, though we were ever so much set on it.”^v

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So general, indeed, was the opposition of the first bishops of Elizabeth, that Grindal, in a letter dated August 27, 1566, says, “All the bishops who had been beyond the sea had, at their return, dealt with the queen to let the matter of the habits fall ; but she was so possessed, that, though they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them submit to the laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them.”^w Even Parker is represented as having no partiality to the *cap and surplice, and wafer-bread, and such like injunctions*. “It would have pleased him well enough,” says the too favourable Strype, “if some toleration had been given in these matters, as he often declared.”^x

Grindal.

It is a strong presumption against the propriety of the course which these bishops pursued, that the ceremonies to which they submitted with reluctance have ever since been regarded by their disciples as parts of a perfect system, which it were profanity to touch with a reforming hand. The rites which Grindal and his brethren admitted as objectionable, on the ground of necessity simply, and with the hope of their speedy removal, have since been magnified as of apostolic origin, and of almost magic virtue. The sanction which they gave them by their practice has been remembered, while their protests have been forgotten or neglected. What the early Reformers mourned over, their followers have gloried in. What the former esteemed the blemish of

Impolicy of
the Bishops'
compliance.

^v Burnet, iii. 475.

^w Pierce's Vindication, 44.

^x Parker, i. 452.

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their church, the latter have defended as its beauty. Nor is there anything surprising in this. It is the result of a law whose operation may be traced in all similar cases, and it therefore enforces the obligation under which religious innovators are placed to hand down to their disciples a system as perfect as human intelligence and fidelity can make it. There is but little hope of the correction of an imperfect system when once it is established. Men's views and sympathies become moulded by it, till they regard all its parts as necessary to its completeness, and regard with pious horror the boldness which would remove the least of them. Nor can that moral excitement, which is requisite for the carrying on of religious Reformation, be long maintained. It is not in the nature of the human mind to permit its faculties to be perpetually on the stretch: it soon experiences exhaustion, and calls for repose; when it readily acquiesces in an imperfect system, rather than undergo the fatigue and risk of renewed labour.

Injunctions
issued.
1559.

An ecclesiastical visitation being now contemplated, the queen issued fifty-three injunctions. They were substantially those of king Edward, and were designed to promote the Reformation, without driving the papists from the communion of the church. Some new ones were added sufficiently indicative of the queen's aversion from the mariages of the clergy, and her inclination in other points to sympathize with the faith of her popish subjects. No priest or deacon was to marry without a license from his diocesan and two justices of the peace. Two or three discreet persons were to be appointed in every parish, to see that all the parishioners went to church on Sundays and holy-

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days. No books were to be printed without a license from the queen, the archbishop, the bishop of London, the chancellor of the universities, or the bishop or archdeacon of the place where it was printed. All were to kneel at the prayers, and to bow at the name of Jesus. The sacramental bread was to be round and plain, somewhat broader and thicker than those prepared for the mass. In the preface we are told, "That her majesty, by the advice of her honourable council, intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of superstition throughout all her highness's realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all heresy, enormities, and abuses, as to her duty appertained, did minister to her loving subjects these godly injunctions." Penalties were attached to disobedience, according to the discretion of commissioners appointed by her majesty.⁷ These officers were to visit all the

⁷ Strype, i. i. 235. Burnet, ii. 614. The bishops had considerable difficulty in dissuading the queen from retaining the use of images, which she thought a means of awakening devotion in the people. They drew up a paper, stating, in very respectful but decided terms, their objections to the use of images in the churches, in which they say: "We do most humbly exhibit to your gracious consideration, those authorities of the scriptures, reasons, and pithy persuasions, which, as they have moved all such our brethren as now bear the office of bishops to think and affirm images not expedient for the church of Christ; so will they not suffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own consciences,

(which God deliver us from,) to consent to the erecting or retaining the same in the place of worshipping; and we trust, and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your majesty, by your regal authority, and in the zeal of God, utterly to remove this offensive evil out of the church of England, to God's great glory, and our great comfort. We beseech your highness, most humbly, not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent unto the thing which in our learning and conscience we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry, and finally to the

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churches of the kingdom, and the nature of their duties may be learnt from the preamble of the commission for the archbishopric of York, which sets forth, "that God having set the queen over the nation, she could not render an account of that trust, without endeavouring to propagate the true religion, with the right way of worshipping God in all her dominions; therefore she, intending to have a general visitation of her whole kingdom, empowered them, or any two of them, to examine the true state of all the churches in the northern parts; to suspend or deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into their places; to proceed against such as were obstinate, by imprisonment, church censure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve pensions for such as would not continue in their benefices, but quitted them by resignation; and to examine the condition of all that were imprisoned on the account of religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their benefices as had been unlawfully turned out in the late times."² These were extensive powers to be committed to any set of men, and could not fail to engender many evils. Burnet tells us, "that which was chiefly condemned in these commissions was, the queen's giving the visitors authority to proceed by ecclesiastical censures, which seemed a great stretch of her supremacy; but it was thought, that the queen might do that, as well as the lay-chan-

ruin of the souls committed to our charge, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day."—Burnet, iv. 383. Records, vi.

The attachment of the queen

to this relic of papal superstition is frequently referred to in the correspondence of her bishops with the continental protestants.

² Burnet, ii. 619.

cellors did it in the ecclesiastical courts ; so that one abuse was the excuse for another.”

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A considerable advance had now been made towards completing the Reformation which Elizabeth and her advisers projected. The supremacy of the church was transferred from the pope to the queen, the public offices of worship were revised, and translated into the English tongue, the bishoprics were filled with learned and zealous men, and the royal injunctions were sent through the land. The doctrines of the church had not yet been set forth. Any articles embodying them, must, of necessity, be approved by the convocation; and it was, probably, felt not to be safe, as yet, to trust to the compliance of that body. In the mean time, the bishops set forth *A declaration of certain principal articles of religion*, which the clergy in entering on their livings were required to read publicly, with the following protestation: “These things above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God’s word.”^a

Articles of
religion set
forth by the
bishops.

The restorers of the reformed church of England now probably rejoiced in the success of their labours, and looked forward to a season of tranquillity and enjoyment. They had surmounted the difficulties which encompassed them at the queen’s accession. The strength of the papal party was broken; and all the offices of emolument, honour, and influence were in the hands of the protestants.

Apparent security, but latent danger, of the church.

^a Burnet, iv. 393. Records, xi.

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The dangers anticipated from the violence and bigotry of the catholics had been avoided by the sagacity of the queen's ministers; and no other enemy appeared to disturb the peace, much less to endanger the safety, of the infant church. But in the midst of these appearances of serenity, there were some circumstances to induce the apprehension of coming evil. A sagacious by-stander, acquainted with the character of religious revolutions, and the force of moral conviction, could scarcely have failed to anticipate events similar to those which shortly occurred. The new church failed to realize the hopes of the most zealous and uncompromising reformers. Having worked out their own deliverance from the trammels of superstition, they regretted to see so many vestiges of it retained in the services of the church. This they regarded as an act of temporizing policy, unworthy of the character of Reformers, and injurious to the interests of truth. They had been foremost in their opposition to popery; and the same zeal still animated their hearts, and was ready to lead them to fresh combats. The presence of the common foe restrained their ardor for a time. Their complaints were consequently uttered in whispers; but when once the fear of popery was removed, they spoke with a voice which betokened determination, and which it would have been wise in their rulers to have respected. But the queen inherited too much of her father's temper to modify her institutions in conformity with the wishes or principles of refractory subjects; and her divines were too servile to hazard her displeasure by enforcing the course which their own judgments approved, and which

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duty rendered incumbent. The church was thus deprived of the services of many whose learning, piety, and diligence would have done her honour. They objected to her terms of conformity, and preferred submitting to penury and reproach, rather than incur the burden of an accusing conscience. Nor was the church in a condition to lose their aid without injury. It was greatly deficient in able and pious ministers. The clergy were for the most part grossly ignorant, of secular dispositions, and secretly favourable to popery. To so great an extent was the want of adequate instructors felt, that Strype tells us, "the bishops were fain to take many laymen that had little more learning than ability of reading well, and of good lives and conversations; and to ordain them only to read the service and the homilies to the people in the church, till others could be procured." ^b

^b Annals, i. i. 234. Strype's volumes abound with proofs of the destitute condition of many of the churches, through the paucity of able ministers. Fuller supplies an amusing illustration of this fact. After speaking of the bishops, he says, "As for the inferior clergy under them, the best that could be gotten were placed in pastoral charges. Alas! tolerability was eminency in that age. A *rush candle* seemed a *torch* where no brighter light was ever seen before. Surely preaching now ran very low, if it be true what I read, that Mr. Tavernour,

of Water-Eaton, in Oxfordshire, high sheriffe of the county, came in pure charity, not ostentation, and gave the scholars a sermon in St. Maries, with his gold chain about his neck, and his sword by his side, beginning with these words: Arriving at the Mount of St. Maries, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biskets, baked in the oven of charity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation."—Church Hist., ix. 65.

CHAPTER VII.

Convocation of 1562-3—Prevalence of Puritanism—Second Parliament—Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Power.—Determination to enforce the Habits—Queen's Letter to Parker to enforce Uniformity—Pilkington to the Earl of Leicester on behalf of the Puritans—Whittingham to the same—Book of Advertisements—Parker's rigorous Enforcement of Conformity—London Ministers before the Commissioners at Lambeth—Sampson and Humphrey—Humphrey's Letter to the Queen—To Cecil—He conforms—Fox refuses to subscribe—Opposition to the Habits at Cambridge—Letter of the Scotch Church on behalf of the Puritans—Licenses called in—The Ejected Ministers publish in their own Defence—Press restrained.

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Convocation.
1563.

IN January, 1562-3, the Convocation met, which was destined to exhibit more decidedly than circumstances had yet permitted, the objections which were felt to some of the ceremonies of the church. In this assembly the thirty-nine articles, which at present constitute the doctrinal standard of the church of England, were agreed upon;^c and the question of discipline and ceremonies was warmly agitated.^d Various alterations were proposed, with a

^c Burnet, iii. 452. The difference, between these articles and those of Edward may be seen in Burnet, iv. 311. Records, iv.

^d The authenticity of the first part of the twentieth article, which affirms that "the church hath

power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," has been impugned on grounds which, to say the least, are entitled to respect. The charge of interpolation was first advanced by Burton during

view of rendering the terms of conformity more comprehensive; but though Parker assured the clergy, at the commencement of their meeting, that "they had now in their hands an opportunity of reforming all things in the church," for "the queen did earnestly desire it, and so did many of the nobility," it was soon apparent that neither the

the reign of Charles the First. In a letter to the temporal lords of the privy council, he says: "The prelates, to justify their proceedings, have forged a new article of religion, brought from Rome, (which gives them full power to alter the doctrine and discipline of our church at a blow,) and have foisted it into the twentieth article of our church. And this is in the last edition of the Articles, 1628, in affront of his majesty's declaration before them. The clause forged is this: The church, (that is, the bishops, as they expound it) hath power to decree, &c. This clause is a forgery, fit to be examined and deeply censured in the star chamber. For it is not to be found in the Latin or English Articles of Edward the Sixth, or of queen Elizabeth, ratified by parliament. And if to forge a will or writing be censurable in the star chamber, which is but a wrong to a private man, how much more the forgery of an article of religion, to wrong the whole church, and overturn religion, which concerns all our souls." Laud denied the charge, alleging that the puritans had been guilty of publishing mutilated editions of the Articles, in which the contested clause was omitted. "I do openly here," he said in his speech in the star chamber, "charge upon that pure sect, this foul corruption of falsifying the Articles of the church of England. Let them take it off as they can." This controversy was revived in the beginning of the last century,

by Mr. Anthony Collins, in a publication entitled, *Priestcraft in Perfection*. He attacked the authenticity of the contested clause, with much ingenuity and force of evidence. Several answers appeared, the principal of which were, *A Vindication of the Church of England, from the Assertions of Priestcraft in Perfection, &c.*; published in 1710. And, *An Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, by Dr. Bennet, in 1715. Collins replied to these, as well as to Collier and others, in *An Historical and Critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, published in 1724: wherein he undertakes to demonstrate that the clause, *The Church has Power, &c.*, is not a part of the Articles, as they were established by Act of parliament in the thirteenth of Elizabeth, or agreed on by the convocations of 1562 and 1571. It is not easy to form a decided opinion on the question. Fuller, with his usual honesty, acknowledges the difficulty, and abstains from giving judgment. "Whether," he says, "the bishops were faulty in their addition, or their opposites in their subtraction, I leave to more cunning state arithmeticians to decide." Neal inclines to the view of Collins, but speaks with hesitation; while Strype and Collier maintain the opposite.—Fuller's Ch. Hist., ix. 73. Neal's Puritans, i. 147. Strype's Parker, ii. 54. Collier's Eccl. Hist., ii. 486.

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archbishop nor the queen were much concerned to meet the scruples of tender consciences.

Bishop Sandys first proposed that women be not authorized to baptize; that the cross in baptism be omitted; and that commissioners be appointed to draw up a set of laws for the discipline and government of the church.*

More extensive alterations were proposed in another paper, signed by several members of the lower house. They request that the psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, and that the organs be removed; that ministers only be permitted to baptize, and that the sign of the cross be omitted; that kneeling at the communion be left indifferent; that the use of copes and surplices be discontinued; that such gowns and caps as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen be not enforced on the ministers of his word; that the thirty-third article, which respects the punishment of not conforming to the ceremonies, be softened; and that all saints' feasts and holydays, bearing the name of a creature, be either abrogated, or commemorated only by a sermon, or some such exercise, adapted for the instruction of the people.^f

* Strype's Annals, i. i. 500.

^f The names and rank of the subscribers to this paper go far to show that even the higher orders of the clergy sympathized with the puritans in their objections to the established ceremonial. For the information of my readers, I shall subjoin them. Ibid., 501:

Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, proloc.
Sampson, dean of Christ Church, Oxon.
Laurence Nowel, dean of Litchfield.
Ellis, dean of Hereford.

Dey, provost of Eton.
Dodds, dean of Exon.
Mullins, archdeacon of London.
Watts, archdeacon of Middlesex.
Pullan, archdeacon of Colchester.
Lever, archdeacon of Coventry.
Bemont, archdeacon of Huntingdon.
Spencer, archdeacon of Chichester.
Croley, archdeacon of Hereford.
Heton, archdeacon of Gloucester.
Rogers, archdeacon of Asaph.
Kemp, archdeacon of St. Alban's.
Prat, archdeacon of St. David's.
Longland, archdeacon of Bucks.

This paper not being satisfactory, another, very similar to it, was introduced, on which a division took place that must have surprised and alarmed the high churchmen of that day. This paper contained the following articles:—

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I. That all the Sundays in the year, and principal feasts of Christ, be kept holydays; and all other holydays to be abrogated.

II. That in all parish churches the minister in common prayer turn his face towards the people; and there distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.

III. That in ministering the sacrament of baptism, the ceremony of making the cross in the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.

IV. That, forasmuch as divers communicants are not able to kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sickness, and sundry other infirmities; and some also superstitiously both kneel and knock; that order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary within his jurisdiction.

V. That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service, and ministering of the

Calfhil,
Walker,
Saul,
Wiburn,
Savage,
W. Bonner,
Avys,
Wilson,
Nevynson,
Tremayne,
Renyger,
Roberts,
Reeve,
Hills,

Proctors
of the

Church of Oxford.
Clergy of Suffolk.
Dean and chapter of Gloucester.
Church of Rochester.
Clergy of Gloucester.
Clergy of Somerset.
Church of Wigorn.
Of the same.
Clergy of Canterbury.
Clergy of Exeter.
Dean and chapter of Winchester.
Clergy of Norwich.
Dean and chapter of Westminster.
Clergy of Oxford.

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sacraments, to use a surplice; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.

VI. That the use of organs be removed.^g

This paper gave rise to an animated discussion in the house; some protesting with much warmth against the alterations proposed, and appealing to the virtues and wisdom of Cranmer and his associates, in defence of the existing ritual. But on a division it was found that of the clergy present forty-three were in favour of the alterations, and thirty-five against them: proxies, however, being allowed, they gave a majority of one to the opponents of concession. The final numbers, including proxies, were fifty-eight for, and fifty-nine against, the alterations proposed.^h So nearly did the puritan party triumph in this convocation. Outvoted by the smallest possible majority, their learning, character, and past services in the protestant cause gave them greater weight with the country than their opponents possessed. They were known to be the most uncompromising opponents of popery, and to have made the most costly sacrifices in support of their principles “Those,” remarks sir

^g Strype's Annals, i. i. 502—503.

^h “When they went to the suffrage,” says Collier, “they found the innovators a considerable number; but, notwithstanding the struggle, the protesting party carried it. And thus the ceremonies and religious decorations continued in their former condition. However, 'tis plain by the contest, the Frankfort and Geneva precisians had no small interest. Many of the *English*

exiles were willing to reform away the ornaments and solemnity of divine worship; and thought Calvin's platform a much better regulation than that of the primitive church. But God be thanked, the majority of our reformers had a different sense of these matters; and had more learning and judgment, more steadiness and resolution, than to be overruled with noise and novelty.”—Eecl. Hist., ii. 486.

James Mackintosh, "who were somewhat inferior in numbers, appear to have been of more weight, if considered either as men of learning, or as numbering among them nearly all the voluntary exiles for religion."ⁱ Nor can it reasonably be doubted that attachment to popery influenced some of the votes given on this occasion. It is notorious that the great body of the clergy were secretly inclined at this period to the ancient faith. Out of nine thousand four hundred of Mary's clergy, only about two hundred and fifty, on the most liberal calculation, refused to swear to the supremacy of Elizabeth. The remainder, though destitute of moral honesty, cannot be suspected of attachment to protestantism, and their sentiments and feelings could not fail to secure some representatives in the convocation. To whatever extent this might be the case, opposition would be manifested to further reform, not from an attachment to what had already been effected, but from the dread of further departure from the forms and spirit of popery. Now, the propositions rejected by the convocation, were for a further separation from the Romish church, and could not therefore but be opposed by all who had a secret leaning towards it. The fact that so large a proportion of the first Reformers, and those confessedly amongst the most learned, zealous, and devout of their day, were attached to the peculiarities of the puritans, should shame the intemperate and ignorant partizans, who refer to them in anger and contempt. In libelling the puritans, they

ⁱ Hist. of Eng., iii. 132. Strype, Annals, i. i. 504, has preserved a list of the majority and minority

on this occasion; by a comparison of which the truth of these observations may be ascertained.

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aspersed the men who exerted themselves most diligently in laying the foundation of their church, and were ever foremost to endure the loss of liberty and life on behalf of a common protestantism. The most eminent churchmen of the day were favourable to the alterations proposed by the puritans, and were only prevented from seeking their introduction into the offices of the church by the opposition and threats of the queen. Had it not been for her influence, puritanism would have triumphed in the church, and a purer Reformation than was consonant with her views have been in consequence effected. "This arbitrary monarch had a leaning towards Rome in almost every thing but the doctrine of papal supremacy. To the real presence she was understood to have no objection, the celibacy of the clergy she decidedly approved, the gorgeous rites of the ancient form of worship she admired, and in her own chapel retained."^j

Prevalence
of Puritan-
ism.

The puritan party at this period was far more numerous than is generally supposed. It has been customary with a certain class of writers to represent them as few in number, mean in rank, morose in temper, and contracted in their views. But the very reverse of this was the case. We have already seen that Elizabeth's first bishops approved of the puritan objections, though they did not feel justified in exposing the nation to the return of popery by refusing, on this account, to conform to the prescribed ceremonies. A very large proportion of the clergy was shown by the division in the convocation to entertain the same views. They prevailed throughout the kingdom, especially amongst the

^j Quarterly Review, June, 1827, p. 31.

most zealous and devout both of the clergy and of the laity. Many members of Cambridge university, were deeply imbued with puritanism, and the parliament was no less affected with it. Even the queen's council contained persons whose leaning was decisively in this direction, so that nothing but Elizabeth's inflexible purpose, based on her half popish creed, prevented its becoming the religion of the land. "I conceive," says one of the most accurate and impartial of historians, "the church of England party, that is, the party adverse to any species of ecclesiastical change, to have been the least numerous of the three (catholic, church of England, puritan) during this reign ; still excepting, as I have said, the neutrals, who commonly make a numerical majority, and are counted along with the dominant religion.—The puritans, or at least those who rather favoured them, had a majority among the protestant gentry in the queen's days. It is agreed on all hands, and is quite manifest, that they predominated in the house of commons. But that house was composed, as it has ever been, of the principal landed proprietors, and as much represented the general wish of the community when it demanded a further reform in religious matters, as on any other subjects. One would imagine, by the manner in which some express themselves, that the discontented were a small faction, who by some unaccountable means, in despite of the government and the nation, formed a majority of all parliaments under Elizabeth and her two successors."^k

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^k Hallam's Const. Hist., i. 257. bishop Maddox in his animadversions on Neal, p. 37, &c.

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Second
Parliament.
1563.

Lord
Keeper's
Speech.

The second parliament of this reign began the 12th of January, 1563, and the lord keeper, in his opening speech, gave clear intimations of the severe and rigorous measures which were speedily adopted against such as scrupled the habits or ceremonies. After adverting to the deficiency of good preachers, he proceeded to remark that two enormities had sprung up from the slothfulness of ministers and the want of good discipline. "The first is, that for lack thereof, every man liveth as he will, without fear; and secondly, many ceremonies agreed upon, but the right ornaments thereof are either left undone or forgotten. As in one point, for want of discipline it is that so few come to service, and the church so unreplenished, notwithstanding that at the last parliament a law was made for good order to be observed in the same; but yet, as appeareth, not executed. Therefore, if it be too easy, let it be made sharper; and if already well, then see it executed. For the want of discipline causeth obstinacy, contempt, and growing of heresy; therefore better to be winked at and unspoken, than bruted abroad and unperformed; therefore, in mine opinion, the device is good, that in every diocese there be officers appointed and devised, as hath been thought good, to sit for redress of these and such like errors, twice or thrice a year, till the faults be amended."¹

Act for the
Assurance of
the Queen's
power.

Additional security against the catholic party was sought in an act, *For the assurance of the queen's majesty's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions*. By this act all persons accepting preferment in the inns of court, the universities, or

¹ Dr. Ewes' Journal, 60.

the church, and all members of parliament, were bound to take the oath of supremacy enjoined by the queen's first parliament. The penalties of the statute of premunire were to be inflicted for the first refusal, and those of high treason for the second. It is probable this statute was never intended to be executed according to its letter, but to operate by way of terror. The queen's ministers wished to keep the papal party quiet, and they sought to effect their purpose by means of rigor, according to the policy of their day. This bill met with little opposition in either house. Two speeches made against it are preserved, which are interesting as showing that even the catholics of that day could plead for liberty of conscience when their opponents were in power.^m The bishops were required to

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^m "I do entreat," said lord Montague in the upper house, "whether it be just to make this penal statute to force the subjects of this realm to receive and believe the religion of the protestants upon pain of death. This, I say, is a thing more unjust; for that it is repugnant to the law of nature and all civil laws; the reason is, for that naturally no man can or ought to be constrained to take for certain that that he holdeth to be uncertain; for this repugneth to the natural liberty of man's understanding, for understanding may be persuaded, but not forced." Mr. Atkinson, a member of the lower house, contrasted the tolerant doctrines formerly advocated by the protestants with their present conduct. "Thus much have I heard the preachers say, that are now, that though in the old law idolatry was punished with death; yet since the coming of Christ (who came to win the world by peace, and bade, *Put up thy sword*) the greatest punishment

that hath been taught by the apostles in case of religion hath been by excommunication. For religion, say they, must sink in by persuasion, it cannot be pressed in by violence. And therefore they called the act of the six articles, that was made the thirty-first of king Henry the Eighth, *the whip with the six lashes*. And as for the dealings in queen Mary's days, they much disliked them; calling the bishops *bloodsuckers*, and bade 'fie on those tormentors, that delighted in nothing else but in the death of innocents; that threatened the whole realm with their fire and fagots; murderers; that they were worse than Caiaphas, worse than Judas, worse than the traitors that put Christ to death.' And that with such vehemency and stomach, as I assure you I marvel how it can possibly come to pass, that they should now desire to establish that as a law, which they thought then so unlawful."—*Strype's Annals*, i. i. 443—450. *Collier*, ii. 481.

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administer the oath prescribed in this statute, and were therefore in danger of incurring the odium which would accompany the execution of its penalty. To prevent this, the archbishop sent private letters to his brethren, entreating them to proceed with prudence in executing the act, and not to tender the oath a second time, till he was informed of the first refusal, and of the circumstances under which it took place. Whether his moderation in this case was influenced by principle or mere policy, whether he disapproved of the punishment or only dreaded the consequences of its infliction, will be decided according to the views which are entertained of his general policy. It is not improbable that this course was suggested by some of the queen's council, who dreaded the intemperate zeal with which the dignitaries of the church might otherwise have pushed the execution of this statute.ⁿ

Determina-
tion to en-
force the
Habits, &c.

In the following year it was determined more rigorously to enforce the habits and ceremonies of the church. The queen's government was now relieved from that excessive dread of the popish party which had hitherto induced it to connive at the discretionary power exercised by the clergy. For some years after her accession, serious dangers were apprehended from that quarter. In these circumstances great reliance was placed on the puritans as the most inflexible and zealous protestants in the land. The great bulk of the clergy had complied with all the changes of the three previous reigns, and would therefore, it might naturally be concluded, as readily return to popery, as they had departed from it. But with the puritans—their

ⁿ Parker's letter to his brethren was submitted to Cecil and had his approval.—*Strype's Parker*, i. 248.

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enemies being judges—it was a question of life and death. They admitted of no compromise; they would enter into no parley. They had not only drawn the sword, but had thrown away the scabbard. In the time of trial, it was well known they might be relied on. No crisis could shake their resolution, nor any tempting offers purchase their friendship. Hence probably arose their brief interval of repose. Cecil and Bacon were too sagacious to risk the aid which they knew not but they might soon need, and which, they were well assured, the puritans would effectually render. But, when the hour of danger was past; when the queen's throne was established, and the bishops felt secure in their sees, the puritans were regarded, not as desirable auxiliaries, but as refractory subjects, who must be brought to a sense of duty by prompt and rigorous measures. Instead of being rewarded for past services, they were threatened with punishment for present delinquency. Their scruples were despised, and the only alternative left them was poverty or guilt, the exposure of their families to want, or of themselves to the reproaches of an accusing conscience.* Hitherto

* Strype attributes the rigorous measures henceforth adopted to the disturbances and insolent behaviour of some of the puritans. Bishop Maddox, in his animadversions on Neal, lays great stress on this allegation, and thus endeavours to vindicate the bishops from a charge of falsehood and tyranny. A pretext for persecution has never been wanting, when the governors of the church or the state have determined on it. Wyatt's insurrection was thus employed in Mary's time; and the insolence and disloyalty of the puritans

were reiterated at subsequent periods, in vindication of the coercive measures which were adopted. The indiscretions and violence of the puritans towards the protestant church are not to be compared with those of the reformers towards the church of Rome; yet it is customary with a certain class of writers to magnify the former and to gloss over and extenuate the latter. The one class of offences is represented as justifying the severest measures of a vindictive hierarchy; the other, as the inevitable attendants on the earliest movements of religious

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the non-compliance of the clergy had been con-
 nived at without any other evil than a want of uni-
 formity in their dress and public services. This
 diversity probably gave occasion to intemperate
 addresses from the pulpit. Some would enforce the
 ritual and others oppose it; and each might uncon-
 sciously substitute a spirit of strife and vain glory
 for an enlightened regard to the honour of divine
 worship. "It is marvellous to consider," says
 Strype, "how much these clerical habits were
 abhorred by many honest and well-meaning men;
 accounting them *antichristian ceremonies*, and so
 styling them; and by no means to be used in a
 true Christian church, because used in the apostate
 church of Rome. It may suffice, as a sign how
 averse many were unto these habits, only to mention
 one or two. Crowley called them *conjuring gar-
 ments of popery*, and would not therefore be per-

zeal. Such a procedure betrays
 more of party-spirit than of
 the calm decision of an impartial
 judgment. The same principle
 holds in both cases, and must be
 fairly applied. Both the reform-
 ers and the puritans frequently
 mistook an intemperate and con-
 tentious spirit, for that of the
 gospel. The violence and fierce-
 ness of human passion were per-
 mitted, in some cases, to mingle
 with and debase their religious
 zeal. To deny this fact is to
 contradict the page of history.
 To regret the Reformation on this
 account, is to display an ignorance
 of human nature, and an utter dis-
 regard of the welfare of the church.
 That instances of such misconduct
 did occur among the puritans,
 may be freely admitted; but that
 they were so numerous as to call
 for or to justify the measures
 which their enemies adopted,
 neither Strype nor Maddox has

succeeded in proving. The fact
 is, that Elizabeth's bishops yielded
 somewhat to the corrupting in-
 fluences of their station, and
 were therefore indisposed to fulfil
 their early promises. When
 writing to Bullinger, they had
 pleaded that the obnoxious cere-
 monies were enjoined by parlia-
 ment before their entrance into it.
 "But that after it was passed,
 they, being chosen to be bishops,
 must either content themselves to
 take their places, as things were,
 or else leave them to papists or
 Lutherans. But in the mean
 space they promised not to urge
 their brethren in those things;
 and when opportunity should
 serve, to seek reformation of
 them."—Parker, i. 307. How
 far they fulfilled this promise, let
 the records of history tell. Some
 of them were honestly concerned
 to do so, but Parker was too in-
 tolerant to permit it.

suaded to minister in them ; and in the year 1565, Dr. Turner, the dean of Wells, enjoined a common adulterer to do his open penance in a priest's square cap."^p The attention of the queen's government was at length attracted to these diversities in the apparel and service of the church. They are noted by Cecil in a paper dated February 14, 1564, in the following manner.

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Varieties in the service and administration used.

Some say the service and prayers in the chancel; others in the body of the church. Some say the same in a seat made in the church; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Some keep precisely the order of the book; others intermeddle psalms in metre. Some say with a surplice; others without a surplice.

The table standeth in the body of the church in some places; in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall yard; in some others in the middle of the chancel, north and south. In some places the table is joined; in others it standeth upon trussels. In some the table hath a carpet; in others it hath none.

Some with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; others with none. Some with chalice; some with a communion cup; others with a common cup. Some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened. [He might have added, some with wafers, some with common manchet bread.]

Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting.

Some baptize at a font, some in a bason. Some

^p Parker, i. 300.

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sign with the sign of the cross ; others sign not.
Some minister in a surplice, others without.

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Some with a square cap ; some with a round cap ;
some with a button cap ; some with a hat. Some
in scholars' clothes, some in others.^q

Queen's letter
to Parker, to
enforce Uni-
formity, Jan.
25, 1564-5.

The queen addressed a letter to the archbishop reflecting severely on these diversities, and requiring him to proceed to their correction. "We mean not," said the daughter of Henry, "to endure or suffer any longer these evils thus to proceed, spread, and increase in our realm ; but have certainly determined to have all such diversities, varieties, and novelties amongst those of the clergy and our people, as breed nothing but contention, offence, and breach of common charity, and are also against the laws, good usages, and ordinances of our realm, to be reformed and repressed, and brought to one manner of uniformity through our whole realm and dominions." The archbishop is therefore commanded to confer with his brethren in the ecclesiastical commission, and to take such measures as that "uniformity of order may be kept in every church, without variety and contention." They were to admit none to preferment who were not well disposed to the common order, and would not promise to use the same "in truth, concord, and unity ; for we intend," says the queen, "to have no dissension or variety grow, by suffering of persons which maintain the same, to remain in authority."^r The archbishop was not disinclined to the course which the queen's letter prescribed. He was as rigid a disciplinarian as herself, though on somewhat different grounds. She acted as a politician, he as

^q Strype's Parker, i. 302.

^r Ibid. Appendix, 24. Annals, i. ii. 126.

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a divine ; the one was offended at the transgression of her commands, the other was concerned to maintain the uniformity of his church. Elizabeth regarded the ecclesiastical as subordinate to the secular interests of her state, while Parker, with the illiberality and intolerance of a bigot, urged the duty of the magistrate to support the dogmas of the priest. But the archbishop had now entered on a work surrounded with greater difficulties than he anticipated. It was not so easy as he imagined to subdue the rising spirit of the clergy, sustained as that spirit was by the esteem and applause of the better portion of the community. The puritans also had powerful friends even in the queen's council, and amongst the dignitaries of the church, whose influence frequently availed to check the persecuting career of Parker, and at length to becloud his latter days.

Pilkington, the bishop of Durham, as soon as he heard of the measures which were in contemplation, wrote to the earl of Leicester, praying him to use his influence with the queen to prevent them. " I marvel much," said he, " that this small controversy for apparel should be so heavily taken ; but this is the malice of Satan, that where he cannot overthrow the greatest matters, he will raise great troubles in trifles Paul circumcised Timothy when there was hope to win the Jews ; but when they would have it of necessity, he would not circumcise Titus. Therefore compelling would not be used in things of liberty Consider, I beseech your honour, how that all countries which have reformed religion, have cast away the popish apparel with the pope, and yet we that would be taken for the

Pilkington
to the earl of
Leicester, on
behalf of the
Puritans,
Oct. 25, 1564.

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best, contend to keep it as a holy relic. Mark, also, how many ministers there be here in all countries, that be so zealous, not only to forsake that wicked doctrine of popery, but ready to leave the ministry and their livings, rather than to be like the popish teachers of such superstitions, either in apparel or behaviour. This realm has such scarcity of teachers, that if so many worthy men should be cast out of the ministry for such small matters, many places should be destitute of preachers. And it would give an incurable offence to all the favourers of God's truth in other countries. Shall we make so precious that, that other reformed places esteem as vile? God forbid. St. Paul bids women use such apparel as becomes them that profess true godliness. Which rule is much more to be observed of men, and specially of preachers. But if we forsake popery as wicked, how shall we say their apparel becomes saints and professors of true holiness? St. Paul bids us refrain from all outward show of evil; but surely in keeping this popish apparel, we forbear not an outward show of much evil, if popery be judged evil."^s

Whittingham
to the same.

Whittingham, dean of Durham, wrote in a similar strain to Leicester, one passage only of whose letter I shall adduce as illustrating the character of the objections urged against the clerical vestments, and the abhorrence with which they were regarded. "I am advertised by the letters of many," he says, "and it is here bruted by the report of all, to the utter discouragement of the godly, and the great boldening and triumph of the wicked; that a decree is either passed, or even at hand, to compel us either

against our consciences to wear the old popish apparel, or else with the loss of our livings to be deposed from our ministry. *Nihil est tertium.*

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“ In that sorrowful case and miserable shipwreck, albeit I see no way how we shall escape dangers, yet the remembrance of your honour is no small assuaging of my grief, who I know by sincerity of God’s word favoureth all true preachers, abhorreth popery and superstition, and pitieth the lamentable condition of Christ’s afflicted. Again, when I consider the great charge joined to us of Almighty God, and the strait account that we have to make for the right use and true dispensation of his mysteries, I find no comparison that might justly move any Christian to doubt of the better of these two choices. Only that which maketh a show for the maintenance of that apparel is, the opinion of *indifferency*. Which thing he that will persuade, must then prove that it tendeth to God’s glory, consenteth with his word, edifieth his church, maintaineth Christian liberty. Which conditions and circumstances if they want, the thing which otherwise by nature is indifferent, doth degenerate and become hurtful. But how can God’s glory be advanced by those garments which superstitious man and antichrist have invented for the maintaining and beautifying of idolatry? What agreement can man’s superstitious inventions have with the eternal word of God? What edification can there be, where the Spirit of God is grieved, Christ’s little ones discouraged, the weak brethren brought in doubt of religion, the wicked papist confirmed in his error, and a door of new set open to all popish traditions and antichristian impiety?

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“Neither can any call this Christian liberty where a yoke is laid on the disciples’ neck, where the conscience is clogged, true preachers threatened, the course of God’s word stayed, the congregation spoiled of godly and learned pastors, the sacraments brought under subjection of idolatrous and superstitious vestments.”^t

These appeals were not without effect, as will be presently seen. In the mean time, the archbishop addressed a letter to Grindal, who filled the see of London, announcing the communication received from the queen, and directing him to proceed in conformity with it. Grindal, like Pilkington, was averse from the rigorous proceedings of the primate, and would gladly have been excused from taking part in them. His temper was mild and tolerant, so that Parker had considerable difficulty in inducing him to exert himself on this occasion. He solicited a private letter from the queen in aid of his persuasions, and at length succeeded so far as to secure an apparent cooperation at least, in the tyrannical and merciless course on which his own heart was set.^u The ecclesiastical commissioners drew up a set of articles to be subscribed by the clergy, which are known by the name of *Advertisements*, and which it was designed to enforce by the authority of the council;^v but the friends of the puritans interposed to prevent this, and so far prevailed with the queen, that she “seemed not unwilling to relax in the discipline of the church, and come towards an indulgence for the dissenters.”^w The archbishop was so convinced of the general hostility of the clergy to the cere-

Book of
Advertisements.
1564.

^t Strype’s Parker, App. 27.

^u Ibid., i. 321.

^v Annals, i. ii. 130. Parker, i. 313.

^w Collier, ii. 495.

monies he wished to enforce, that his only hope of success was founded on the exercise of the queen's authority. He despaired of compassing his end if the book of *advertisements* was not authorized by the council, and did not go forth in the queen's name. "If the queen's majesty would not authorize it," he told Cecil, "the most part of the orders therein prescribed were like to lie in the dust, for execution on their (the leading clergy) parts, laws were so much against their own private doings. But if she, with consent, would publish her pleasure concerning these articles, he trusted, out of the awe the clergy had of her, she would be obeyed."^x Such were the arguments which a protestant bishop could employ, and such the means by which he sought to secure the adoption of his views. When the council refused to confirm the *advertisements*, the spirit of the churchman was unguardedly displayed. He could not brook the moderate counsels which had prevailed, but pettishly said, "It was better not to have begun except more were done; and that all the realm was in expectation. *Sapienti pauca.*" Adding, concerning himself and his brethren in the commission, "That if this ball should be tossed unto them, and then they have no authority by the queen's majesty's hand, they would sit still. And that if they of the council laid not to their helping hand, as they did once," he said, "in Hooper's days, all that was done was but to be laughed at."^y It was in the same spirit, fretted and chaffed at not being vigorously supported in his intolerance, that he requested Cecil to obtain a letter from the queen to aid his endeavours, remark-

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^x Parker, i. 316.^y Ibid., i. 317.

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ing, "If you remedy it not by letter, I will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who will."^z

The pertinacity with which Parker on this occasion urged the adoption of rigorous measures, and his evident chagrin and disappointment when the council refused to be the instruments of his tyranny, are amongst the most unamiable and repulsive features of his history. In some cases it may be urged on his behalf, that he was acting at the command and under the impulse of others; but no such plea will avail him here. The politician and the courtier were accessible to the cry of the oppressed, but the primate of the English church had steeled his heart against it. Bigotry was so dominant there, the lust of power so omnipotent, that he could move calmly on to the accomplishment of his design, unmoved alike by the plea of conscience, and the miseries of penury and reproach. There is no passion so destructive of the charities of our nature as that which reigns in the breast of an intolerant ecclesiastic.

Parker's
rigorous en-
forcement of
Conformity,
1565.

The archbishop, though repulsed in the council, determined to proceed with rigor in enforcing the obnoxious ceremonies. He accordingly sat at Lambeth with the bishops of London, Ely, Winchester, Lincoln, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, where the noncomplying clergy were summoned to appear. The method of proceeding on which the commissioners agreed was, first to address all the clergy assembled at Lambeth, saying "something to move them to conformity, with intimation of the penalty which necessarily will ensue against the recusants;" then to examine

^z Parker, i. 318.

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them separately, "whether they would promise conformity in their ministrations and outward apparel, and testify the same by subscription." Those who refused were immediately to be suspended, and their livings to be sequestrated, and deprivation by due form of law was to follow if they were not reconciled within three months.^a Parker was particularly anxious to secure the conformity of the London ministers, "for their example the rest of the nation were like to follow; and they seemed the most averse of any ministers in the land to use the habits and observe the rites." They were accordingly summoned to appear before the commissioners at Lambeth on the 24th of March, when the chancellor of the bishop of London addressed them: "My masters and the ministers of London, the council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel like to this man," pointing to Mr. Robert Cole, a minister likewise of the city, who had refused the habits awhile, and now complied, and stood before them canonically habited, "as you see him; that is, a square cap, a scholar's gown priest-like, a tippet, and, in the church, a linen surplice; and inviolably observe the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, and the queen's majesty's injunctions, and the Book of Convocation. Ye that will presently subscribe, write *volo*. Those that will not subscribe, write *nolo*. Be brief; make no words." And when some would have spoken, the answer was, "Peace, peace. Apparitor, call the churches. Masters, answer presently, *sub pœna contemptus*; and set your names." Then the Sumner called first the Peculiars of Canterbury, then some

London
Ministers at
Lambeth.

^a Strype's Parker, i. 427.

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of Winchester diocese (whose livings were in Southwark), and lastly, the London ministers.”^b Nothing could be more unfeeling or despotic than the course pursued on this occasion. The men who were capable of so acting towards their brethren would have led them to the stake, and have gloried in their death, if the state of the public mind had permitted extreme measures. They possessed the spirit of inquisitors, which they would have embodied in murderous deeds, if their power had been equal to their intolerance. “Men’s hearts were tempted and tried,” says one of the noncomplying clergy. “Great was

^b Grindal, 144. The ministers gave in a written statement of their objections to the apparel, which closes thus: “These things being thus weighed with the warning that St. Paul giveth, 1 Thess. v., where he commands us to abstain from all appearance of evil, we cannot but think that in using of these things, we should beat back those that are coming from superstition, and confirm those that are grown in superstition, and consequently overthrow that which we have been labouring to build; and incur the danger of that horrible curse that our Saviour has pronounced: ‘Woe to the world because of offences.’

“Knowing therefore how horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God, by doing that which our consciences (grounded upon the truth of God’s word, and the example and doctrine of ancient fathers) do tell us were evil done, and to the great discrediting of the truth whereof we profess to be teachers, we have thought good to yield ourselves into the hands of men, to suffer whatsoever God hath appointed us to suffer, for the performing of the commandments of God and a

clear conscience before the commandments of men, in complying with which we cannot escape the condemnation of our consciences; keeping always in memory that horrible saying of John in his first epistle: ‘If our conscience condemn us, God is greater than our conscience.’ And not forgetting the saying of the psalmist, ‘It is good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust in man; it is good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust in princes.’ Ps. cxviii. And again, Ps. cxlvi: ‘Trust not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health, whose spirit shall depart out of them, and they shall return to the earth from whence they came, and in that day all their devices shall come to nought.’

“Not despising men, therefore, but trusting to God only, we seek to serve him with a clear conscience, so long as we shall live here, assuring ourselves, that those things that we shall suffer for doing so shall be a testimony to the world, that great reward is laid up for us in heaven, where we doubt not but to rest for ever with them that have before our days suffered for the like.”—Neal’s Puritans, i. 175.

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the sorrow of most ministers, and their mourning, saying, 'We are killed in the soul of our souls for this pollution of ours, for that we cannot perform in the singleness of our hearts this our ministry.'"^c From the account which the primate gave of this affair to Cecil, it appears that sixty-one promised conformity, nine or ten were absent, and thirty-seven refused.^d Many of the latter were married and had families, whose precarious condition and exposure to want could not but greatly aggravate the sorrow consequent on their deprivation. The archbishop calculated on this as rendering their submission probable, for he tells Cecil, with all the hardheartedness of a practised inquisitor, "That some of them, he thought, would come in when they should feel their wants; especially such as by a *spiced fancy* held out. Some of them, he doubted not, were moved in a conscience which he laboured by some advertisements to pacify. But the wood, he said, was yet green, and it was not felt as he thought it would be hereafter."

Many other clergymen were summoned before the commissioners, amongst whom were Drs. Sampson and Humphrey, the former dean of Christ-

Sampson and
Humphrey
before the
Commission-
ers,
March, 1565.

^c Strype's Grindal, 145.

^d Strype's Parker, i. 429. "Of which number," says Strype, "as the archbishop acknowledged, were the best, and some preachers. Six or seven convenient sober men pretending a conscience. Diverse of them zealous, but of little learning and judgment. And, in short, he and the rest in commission with them (whereof the bishop of London was one) did suspend them, and sequester their fruits, and put them from all manner of ministry; with signification that if they

would not reconcile themselves within three months, then to be deprived. The archbishop did expect hereupon that their behaviour would have been rough and clamorous; but, otherwise than he looked for, they showed reasonable quietness and modesty." Strype tells us, *Annals*, i. ii. 130, that several of these conformed within the three months; but does not mention his authority. The statement, however, is not improbable. The prospect of poverty and reproach has chilled the zeal of many virtuous minds.

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church, and the latter president of Magdalen college, Oxford. "These were of great esteem in the nation," says Strype, "being men of good learning, and having been both of them exiles in queen Mary's reign." Their first appearance was on the 3rd of March, when the archbishop urged their compliance; adducing the opinions of Bucer and Martyr as favourable to such a course. This, however, they declined, and on the 8th requested permission to return to their college duties, which Parker refused, and they were consequently detained in London. They drew up an elegant and respectful letter to the archbishop and his three brethren in the commission, protesting, before God, it was a bitter grief to them that there should be a contention about so small a matter, but that it comforted them to know that all professed the same gospel, and that it was in things indifferent only that each followed his own opinion. They alleged the authority of Augustine, Socrates, and others, in whose time varieties in the rites of the church were permitted; and then prayed the bishops, "That if there were any reckoning to be made of fellowship in Christ, if there were any fellow-feeling and compassion, of which they doubted not, they would permit, nay, promote that which Paul commended, and Augustine yielded; that every one might acquiesce in his own *πληροφορία*, i. e. *confident persuasion*; and that the unity of the faith might be kept in divers observances. That their reasons for this address were many and great; viz., that conscience was a tender thing, that ought not to be touched nor angered. That they were not turbulent nor obstinate, nor willing to see the peace of the

church disturbed, or studied novelty, or refused to be convinced. But they were taught by conscience, that things in their own nature indifferent do not always seem indifferent to the opinions of men, and are changed by times and accidents. That this law concerning the restoring the ceremonies of the Roman church is joined with the hazard of slavery, necessity, and superstition: subjoining these words, *because this does not seem so to you, you are not to be condemned by us; because this does seem so to us, we are not to be vexed by you.*"^e

^e Parker, i. 324. In one of their examinations, the archbishop put the following questions to them, which, with the substance of their answers, I insert as furnishing a brief statement of the puritan case.

1. Is the surplice a thing evil, wicked, or indifferent?

Though the surplice in substance be indifferent, yet by circumstances it is not so; being of the same nature with the *vestis peregrina*, or the apparel of idolatry; the wearers of which God threatened to visit.

2. If it be not indifferent, for what cause?

Because that things consecrated to idolatry are not indifferent.

3. Whether the bishop, detesting papistry, may enjoin the surplice, or enforce the injunction already made?

To such an one it may be said in the words of Tertullian, *Si tu Diaboli pompam (oderis) quicquid ex ea attigeris, id scias esse idololatram*; of which if he be persuaded, he will not so act.

4. Whether the cope be a thing indifferent or not, being appointed for decency and reverence, and not for superstition or holiness?

Reverence unto the sacrament is wrought by doctrine and discipline. Decency is not gained

by that which has been devised and used to deface the sacrament. If the gold ordained by God, for reverence and decency in the Jewish temple, is not to be admitted to beautify the church of Christ; much less *cofes* brought in by papists, and continued in their service as proper ornaments of their religion, ought to be retained.

5. Whether any thing which is indifferent may be enjoined as godly, for the use of common prayer or the sacraments?

If it be merely indifferent, as the time, place, and such necessary circumstances of divine worship, for which a warrant may be produced out of the scriptures, we think it may.

6. Whether the civil magistrate may appoint an abstinence from meats on certain days?

If it be duly guarded from superstition, he may so appoint it, on account of its manifest advantages.

7. Whether a law may be made for the difference of ministers' apparel from that of laymen?

Whether such a prescription be lawful admits of doubt, as the New Testament does not decree, nor did the primitive church appoint, any such distinction; but would rather ministers should

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Sampson and Humphrey wrote also to the earl of Leicester, entreating his aid, that they might be permitted to return to Oxford. But their supplications were of no avail. The commissioners were determined to proceed with rigor, in hope of subduing the refractory spirit of the puritan party. These confessors were therefore compelled to continue their attendance; and on the 29th of April, the archbishop, says Strype, "did peremptorily will them to agree with the rest of the clergy in matters of conformity, or else to depart their places. He showed them, in few words, that these were the orders which they must observe, viz., to wear the cap appointed by injunction, to wear no hats in their long gowns, to wear a surplice with non-regents hood in the choirs at their colleges, according to the ancient manner there; and to communicate kneeling, in wafer-bread." They refused to comply, pleading the dictate of conscience; and requested time for the removal of their goods.^f It was ultimately determined to make an example of Sampson, lest his influence should pervert the students, by whom he was much respected. He was therefore deprived of his deanery, and was detained a prisoner for a considerable period.^g

be known from the laity by their doctrine than by their raiment.

8. Whether such ministers as wear the apparel used by the papists ought to be condemned for so doing?

To judge, disprove, or condemn another man's servant, is not our part; for that he standeth or falleth unto his Lord.

9. Whether such preachers ought to be reformed or restrained?

Irenæus will not have brethren restrained from brotherly com-

munion for diversity in ceremonies, so that there be unity of faith and charity. And it is to be desired that there may be a charitable permission of diversity, as on both parts there is a *unitas operantium*—Strype's Parker, i. 329. Other arguments were added to these by the puritans, as may be seen in the 23rd chap. of Parker's life.

^f Ibid., 327.

^g Ibid., pp. 368, 371. It is due to Parker, to mention that he interceded with the chapter of Christ

Humphrey was also imprisoned for some time, and was then released, apparently without permission to return to Oxford. About this time he addressed an admirable letter to the queen, in which he vindicates himself and his brethren, and urges the toleration of their worship. "You know that in things indifferent, especially those which are in controversy, it is lawful for every man, without prejudice to others, to have his full persuasion, and

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Humphrey's
Letter to the
Queen.

Church, and with the queen, on behalf of Sampson, entreating from the former some favour which is not specified, and earnestly soliciting from the latter his restoration to liberty. Such acts of kindness towards the puritans were unhappily infrequent in the administration of Parker; they serve, however, to induce a hope that his heart was not wholly destitute of the softer and more benevolent qualities of our nature. He was the administrator of a vicious system which engrafted the pride of ecclesiastical domination on the worst passions of man's degenerate heart. Several letters passed between Sampson and Grindal, formerly fellow-exiles for religion; the former now poor and afflicted with palsy, the latter archbishop of York. One of these is preserved by Strype, and does equal honour to the piety and talent of Sampson. After expostulating with Grindal on the inconsistency of his worldly pomp with a Christian spirit, and with ministerial faithfulness, he refers to his own afflictions in the following touching manner. "You do pity my poverty and lameness. To my remembrance, I complained neither of the one nor of the other to you; if I did of the first, I was to blame, for I complained before I had need. And if I had need, I thank God, I would make choice of them to

whom I might complain. How bold I might be with you, both you and I do know. Touching the other, I am so far from complaining of it, that I do humbly thank God for it. It is the Lord's hand which doth touch me. He might in his justice have smitten and destroyed me; but it is his favour and most rich mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ, that as a loving father he doth tenderly touch me and chastise me. I do bless and praise his name for it. If the Lord doth see that my poor labour may serve to any good purpose in his church, he both can and will heal me. And then if it shall also please him to furnish me with gifts meet for his service, I shall say, *Ecce! ego, mitte me*. But if the Lord hath determined by this lameness to make me unmeet in labour, as now I am, and so lead me to my grave, the Lord give me grace to say with Hezekiah, *Bonus est sermo Domini*; and with Ely, *Ipse est Deus, quod bonum est in oculis suis faciat*. And yet shall I labour, so as I can, till my foot be *in sepulchro*. It is to bear bonds and chains I grant, *sed Domini sunt vincula*; and such that if I were put to my choice, I would rather choose to carry them to my grave, than, freed from them, to carry the clogs and cares of a bishopric, as that state is now."—Strype's Parker, App. 94.

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that the conscience ought not in any case to be bound. That the matter which we handle is agreeable to religion and equity, I think there is no man that doubteth. Seeing, therefore, the thing which we request is honest, and that which is commanded is doubtful; and they who make the request are your most loving and obedient subjects and ministers of the word; why should your mercy, O queen, which is usually open for all, be shut up from us? You, being the prince, will not give place to your subjects; yet, being merciful, you may spare them who are in misery. You will not disannul a public decree; yet you may mitigate it. You cannot abolish a law; yet you may grant a liberation. It is not meet you should follow every man's affections; yet it is most right and convenient that the mind and conscience be not forced.

“ We do not go about, O most gracious queen, to bear rule, who ought to be subjects; but we would that *reason*, the queen of queens, should rule, and that the humble entreaty of the ministers of Christ might obtain that which religion commandeth. Wherefore, O most noble prince, I do in most humble sort request and earnestly desire, that your majesty would seriously and attentively consider the majesty of the glorious gospel, the equity of the cause, the small number of workmen, the greatness of the harvest, the multitude of tares, the grievousness of the punishment, the lightness of the fault, the sighs of the good, the triumphs of the wicked, and the mischiefs of the times.”^h Having many powerful friends at court, he escaped deprivation, though he continued his nonconformity to the

^h Brook's Puritans, i. 363.

habits. When the archbishop published the *Advertisements* for a more rigorous enforcement of the ceremonies, Humphrey wrote to Cecil, entreating him to suppress them. "I am sorry," he writes, "that the old sore is broke out again, in such sort, at such a solemn time, in print, to the common calamity of many, and marvel and misery of all. The cause is not so sound, in my poor opinion, as it is made. The trouble is greater than we think. The inhibition of preaching, strange and lamentable. The cry of a number is and will be pitiful in the ears of God and man. The book of advertisements, though it contain much that is many ways of the wise misliked, yet because it hath no determination of time, nor of penalty, was better esteemed. The execution hitherto vehemently urged marvellously moveth and marreth all. I am so highly bound to God, that giveth me this bold access to your honour, that I cannot for this his goodness yield to him condign thanks. Wherefore, as I of these proceedings simply promote the judgment of many; so I humbly request you to bear with this my rude plainness, and to be a means to the queen's majesty to stop the execution, and to suffer the book to sleep in silence. These days, these evils, this people, this age, require other advertisements. The queen's majesty in the preface seeketh unity and concord; this hath bred variety and discord more than ever was. To your wisdom, goodness, and godliness, I refer all; as also the continuance of your prosperous state to the Almighty."¹ So high was the estimation in which he was held by lord Burleigh, that, about 1574,

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Humphrey's
letter to Cecil,
April, 1566.¹ Parker, i. 432.

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He conforms.
1576.

that nobleman recommended him to the queen to fill a vacant see. Of this he subsequently informed Humphrey, intimating that his nonconformity was the great obstacle to his preferment.

He shortly afterwards conformed, as appears by his letter to the lord treasurer, in reply to his friendly communication, in which he says, "I have yielded, that no further surmise of any wilfulness should be gathered; and would have done the like heretofore, but that having a toleration, I was glad to enjoy it; and I hoped still for some points of redress; wherein I was no open intermeddler, but only a private solicitor and humble suitor to her majesty and your lordships. It was a remorse, to seem by singular apparel to sunder myself from those brethren whose doctrine and life I always loved and liked. And I protest to your lordship, before God, that my standing before, and conforming now, cometh of one cause, viz., the direction of a clear conscience; and tendeth to one end, which is edification. And if in the proclamation, which I hear shall be set forth for apparel, one clause may be added for ministers and students in the university, and a plain signification given, that it is enjoined, not so much for an ecclesiastical ceremony, as for a civil policy and ordinance, it would, I think, satisfy many in conscience."^j

^j Strype's Annals, i., App. 28. Humphrey, like many other of the earliest puritans, was probably offended at the extent to which Cartwright and his disciples carried their opposition to the established church; and might thus more easily be persuaded to comply with the ceremonies. Though he excepted against some

parts of the ritual, he never contemplated an assault on the constitution of the church. Writing, in 1572, to Mr. Gilby, a zealous puritan in Leicestershire, he distinctly intimates his disapprobation of the *Admonitions to Parliament*, recently published. "Openly to publish such admonitions as are abroad I like not," he says;

John Fox, the martyrologist, was also summoned before the commissioners at Lambeth. Though he had done eminent service in the protestant cause, he was long neglected, on account of his aversion to the habits,^k and at length was in danger of losing the little preferment he had obtained. Being required to subscribe (in hope that his compliance would influence others), he produced a copy of the Greek New Testament, declaring, "To this will I subscribe." And when he was urged with the canons, he refused, saying, "I have nothing in the church save a prebend at Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you will take it away."¹ His unequalled labours on behalf of the protestant faith saved the

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John Fox re-
fuses to sub-
scribe.

"for in some parts and terms they are too broad and overshoot themselves."—Brook's Puritans, i. 373.

^k When Dr. Humphrey was chosen president of Magdalen College, in 1561, Fox wrote him a congratulatory letter, couched in a facetious style. "Why do I trifle thus," said this estimable man, "and begin to congratulate you your preferment, who should much rather expostulate the case with you? For come, Sir, tell me, why have you thus left us and our flock and order, and gone away? Fugitive, runaway, as you are, be you not ashamed? You ought to have taken example of greater constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition, as England received me in, when I first came home out of Germany. Nor do I change my degree nor order; which is that of the mendicants, or, if you will, of the friars preachers. And in this order you yourself were, and was like enough to continue an honest companion with us. But now

you have forsaken this our order and *classis*, and mounted I know not whither; fortunate success, as the proverb is, waiting on you."—Strype's Parker, i. 223, 224.

¹ Fuller, ix. 76. Heylin's Reform., 164. The remark of the latter writer on Fox's reply is characteristic. "This refractory answer," he says, "for it was no better, might well have moved the bishop to proceed against him, as he did against some others who had stood on the same refusal; but kissing goes by kindness, as the saying is, and so much kindness was showed to him, that he both kept his resolution and his place together; which, whether it might not do more hurt to the church than that preferment in the church did advantage him, I think no wise man will make a question; for commonly the exemption or indemnity of some few particulars confirms the obstinacy of the rest, in hope of being privileged with the like indemnity."

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 of its rulers. He had been their companion in
 ELIZ. exile, and was favoured by some from sincere re-
 gard, and connived at by others through fear or
 shame. The sturdiest advocate of uniformity could
 not, for very shame, punish so eminent a labourer in
 the protestant cause.

Opposition to
 the habits at
 Cambridge.
 1565,

Great opposition to the clerical habits was evinced
 at Cambridge. Nearly three hundred of the fellows
 and scholars of St. John's college, in the absence of
 Dr. Longworth, the master, came into the chapel
 without their hoods and surplices, and continued to
 do so after his return. A similar hostility was
 evinced by the members of Trinity college, and was
 known extensively to prevail in other branches
 of the university. These things were soon reported
 to sir William Cecil, the chancellor, who wrote to
 the vice-chancellor, acquainting him with the great
 displeasure of the queen, and requiring him imme-
 diately to call "the heads of the colleges, and other
 grave graduates, whom that leprosy had not
 touched, and to recommend his most hearty and
 earnest desire to every of them, that as they in-
 tended the honour of God, the preservation of chris-
 tian unity, the good name of that honourable and
 famous university, the favor of their sovereign lady
 the queen towards the same; and lastly (which
 was, he said, of least estimation), as they regarded
 his poor good will towards the whole body, and
 every good member of the same, so they would
 persist and continue in the observation of uniform
 order in these external things, which of themselves
 were of none other value but to make a demonstra-
 tion of obedience, and to render a testimony of

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unity.”^m The visitation of St. John’s pertaining to the bishop of Ely, Cecil wrote to him, desiring he would exercise his jurisdiction, if it should be necessary, for the correction of such misdemeanours. So vigilant and decisive was the policy of the queen’s government at this period. Several heads of colleges, apprehending serious mischiefs to the university, from an enforcement of the habits, addressed a letter to the chancellor, stating the conscientious scruples which some of their members entertained, and the probability of their leaving the university, and the loss which would be consequent thereon, if the habits were enforced. They expressed their deliberate judgment that the removal of this burden would be without inconvenience or danger, while its imposition would prove very injurious to the preaching of the gospel, and to sound learning.ⁿ This letter produced no other effect than that of confirming the court and ecclesiastical commission in their purpose of enforcing the obnoxious habits.^o Longworth was summoned to London,

^m Strype’s Annals, i. ii. 155.

ⁿ Strype’s Annals, i. ii. 160. Parker, i. 386. Appendix 39. Amongst the signatures to this letter is that of John Whitgift, afterwards the opponent of Cartwright, and the persecuting archbishop of Canterbury. History affords numerous examples of men commencing life with professions of liberality, and closing it with all the rancour of theological hatred, and the fierceness of ecclesiastical intolerance. It is not our province to decide on the sincerity of this early act of Whitgift. Those who maintain the affirmative should be prepared to show how his heart was subsequently hardened against the men whose cause he thus advocated.

^o On this, as on most other occasions, the civil ruler was excited to persecution by the suggestions of ecclesiastics. Parker was particularly active in this unhallowed work. On the 8th of Dec. he wrote to Cecil, “that if he, their chancellor, of the privy council, and in such place and credit as he was, should suffer so much authority to be borne under foot by a bragging brainless head or two, in my opinion, your conscience shall never be excusable. We mar our religion; our circumspections are so variable (as though it were not God’s cause, which he will defend), makes cowards thus to cock over us. I must say, as Demosthenes answered, what was

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and compelled to sign a paper acknowledging his guilt in permitting such innovations, and promising to do his utmost to enforce the queen's injunctions. And the others who had concurred with him made their peace by submissive letters, in which they displayed more meanness of spirit than honest attachment to truth. But the object of these measures was unattained, for the university continued a nursery of puritanism, and replenished its ranks from time to time with learned and able advocates. The bold spirit of this rising party, apparent even in its early movements, naturally engaged the sympathies of the young. It was in unison with the temper of the times, and, as displaying a healthy and vigorous protestantism, was welcomed to the confidence, and aided by the prayers, of the more enlightened and devout part of the community.

Letter of the
Scotch church
on behalf of
the puritans.
Dec. 27, 1566.

The cause of the puritans was advocated by the church of Scotland. A letter to the bishops and pastors of England was adopted in the general assembly at Edinburgh, in which the ministers and elders of Scotland say, "By word and writ, it is come to our knowledge, that diverse of our dearest brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that realm, are deprived from ecclesiastical function and forbidden to preach, and

the chief part in rhetoric, the second part, the third. Pronunciation, pronunciation, pronunciation, said he. So say I, execution, execution, execution of laws and orders, must be the first and last part of good government. Although I yet admit moderation for times, places, multitudes, &c. And hereafter, for God's love, never stir any alterations, except

it be fully meant to have them established."—*Strype's Parker*, i. 389.

"These frequent solicitations and counsels of the archbishop (says *Strype*) added new spirit to the chancellor, and put him upon doing somewhat effectually in order to uniformity in the university."—*Ibid.*, 394.

say that by you they are stayed to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their conscience will not suffer them to take upon them, at the commandment of the authority, such garments as idolaters, in time of blindness, have used in their idolatry. . . . Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of man is: all that have knowledge are not alike persuaded. Your consciences reclaimeth not the wearing of such garments; but many thousands, both godly and learned, are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences, *What hath Christ Jesus to do with Belial?* What fellowship is there betwixt *darkness and light?*

“If surplice, corner-cap, and tippet have been badges of idolatry in the very act of idolatry, what hath the preacher of Christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, to do with the dregs of that Romish beast? Our brethren that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn nor molest you, which use such vain trifles. If ye should do the like to man, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are wounded with the extremity that is used against the godly, and our beloved brethren.”

They then meet the plea that the bishops were but the agents of their sovereign. “If,” say they, “the commandment of authority urge the consciences of yours and our brethren, further than they can bear, we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember, that ye are called the *light of the world, and the salt of the earth*. All called to authority have not the light of God always shining

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before their eyes, but their affections oftentimes savor overmuch of the earth and of worldly wisdom. And therefore we think ye should boldly open yourselves to all power that will or dare extol itself, not only against God, but also against all such as dare burden the consciences of the faithful, further than God has burdened them by his own word. Our humble supplication is, that our brethren, who among you refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, the prelates, such favor as your Head and Master commandeth every one of his members to show to others, which we look to receive of your gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's majesty in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles, but also because ye will not refuse the humble request of us your brethren and fellow-preachers of Jesus Christ." ^p

The English bishops, or rather the queen and primate, were too fixed in their purpose to be swayed by this communication. What immediate influence it produced, we are not told; but that it utterly failed to change the policy of the archbishop, is evident from the intolerant character of his future proceedings.

Various ministers, distinguished for piety and zeal, were silenced in the course of this year, to the serious detriment of the English church. But the archbishop, blind to the danger he incurred, resolved on a more sweeping measure, by which, in

Licenses
called in.
1565.

^p A Parte of a Register, 125. Strype considers the English bishops as somewhat roughly treated in this letter: on what account I cannot divine. Its terms, though strong, are not offensive; and its general tone,

while free from adulation, is yet sufficiently respectful. It would have been well for the English nation and church if the advice it contains had been fairly acted on.—Life of Parker, i. 458.

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hope of purging the church from all who were puritanically inclined, the bishops were directed to order their clergy to bring in their old licenses and to take out new ones, which were to be granted only to those who bound themselves not to disturb the established order of the church.^a By this measure, Parker expected to mould the clergy to his views, and to prepare a more obsequious body for the public ministration of religion. How far he succeeded will appear in the future course of this history. His proceedings were carried on with various degrees of zeal in different parts of the country. Several of the bishops were averse from them, and only lent their concurrence through fear of the queen's displeasure. With all their excellencies, they were deficient in that moral heroism which would have sacrificed wealth and dignity rather than concur in measures which were disapproved; or it may be—and charity bids us entertain the supposition respecting some of them at least—that they retained their stations at a sacrifice of feeling, lest popery should again inundate the land.^r

^a Parker's Life, i. 376. Serious complaints were made at court of the severity of the archbishop's proceedings, in silencing so many of the clergy: in consequence of which, the queen caused the secretary to write to him. In his reply he states, "that all this was no more than he foresaw before he began; and that when the queen put him upon doing what he had done, he told her at his first speech with her the second Sunday in Lent, that these precise folks would offer their goods and bodies to prison, rather than they would relent."—448.

Strype has preserved a curious letter of the archbishop to the secretary, dated April 28, 1566, in which he bitterly complains of

the want of aid from the council, and expresses his utter despair of success if left to fight the battle of intolerance alone. "Mr. Secretary," says the irritated primate, "can it be thought I alone, having sun and moon against me, can compass this difficulty? If you, of her majesty's council, provide no otherwise for this matter than as it appeareth openly, what the sequel will be, *horresco vel reminiscendo cogitare*."—452.

^r Serious apprehensions were occasionally entertained by some of the bishops of the queen's reconciling herself to the popish party. These are expressed by Parker and Cox, in letters preserved by Strype in his life of the former.—i. 455, App. 17.

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The ejected
ministers
publish in
their own
defence.

The press was not idle on this occasion. Though its province was not ascertained, nor its power known, as at present, some instructive examples of its mighty influence had recently been furnished, which encouraged the puritans to avail themselves of it. In the hands of Luther, it had shaken the popedom; and as wielded by the English Reformers, it had proved the instrument of awakening and of wisely guiding the mighty energies of the public mind. The deprived ministers, therefore, having failed in their applications to the queen and council, determined to submit their case to the decision of impartial men. They accordingly published a small treatise, entitled, *A brief discourse against the outward apparel and ministering garments of the popish church*; in the commencement of which they state, "Considering how hurtful a thing to a Christian commonwealth it is to have the ministers of God's word despised and brought into contempt, we have thought it our duty briefly to declare, in writing, to be set forth to be seen of all men, some part of the reasons and grounds of our doings, in refusing to wear the outward apparel and ministering garments of the pope's church."^s In this treatise the puritan controversy is seen in its simplest form, though an approach is occasionally made to the freer and bolder sentiments which were subsequently avowed.

Press
restrained,
June 19, 1566

Numerous other publications of a similar nature were issued; to which the bishops replied, either in

^s Neal gives the title of this pamphlet differently. He terms it, *A declaration of the doings of those ministers of God's word and sacraments in the city of London, which have refused to wear the upper apparel and ministering*

garments of the pope's church.—Hist. of Puritans, i. 183. This is found on the top of the first page, while that mentioned in the text occupies the title-page.—Strype's Annals, i. ii. 162.

person or by means of their chaplains. These were legitimate weapons, appropriate to the contest, and suited to advance the interests of truth. The appeal was thus transferred from authority to reason. The judgment and conscience of the nation were made arbiters of the dispute; they were constituted the final judge, and all the attempts which the dominant party subsequently made to withdraw this appeal, or to avert its natural consequences, proved utterly vain. The puritan tracts were diligently sought after and read. They were circulated throughout the country, and made an impression strongly unfavourable to the bishops. They were for the most part written in a nervous and pungent style, with some mixture of that coarseness which unhappily characterizes nearly all the controversial pieces of that day. On the whole, they were eminently adapted for popular impression, and falling in as they did with the most excited passions of the protestant community, they could scarcely fail to make a deep and lasting impression. Finding that their cause was not advanced by these discussions, the ecclesiastical commissioners recommended to the lords of the privy council that the press should be restrained. This was accordingly done by a decree of the Star Chamber, bearing date, June 29, 1566, which prohibited, under severe penalties, the printing or publishing of "any book against the force and meaning of any ordinance, prohibition, or commandment, contained or to be contained in any the statutes or laws of this realm, or in any injunctions, letters patent, or ordinances, passed or set forth, or to be passed or set forth, by the queen's grant, commission, or authority." Power was given

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to the wardens of the Stationers' company to search all suspected places, and to open all packages; and all stationers, printers, and others trading in books, were required to enter into recognizances truly to observe the prescribed ordinances, and to assist the wardens and their deputies in the discharge of their duties.^t It would be difficult to point out the difference between such conduct and the uniform policy of the popedom. The principle of both is the same, though, happily for mankind, the temper of modern times has prevented the protestant ecclesiastic from carrying it to the same extent as his catholic brother.

^t Parker, i. 442.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Puritans divided on the Propriety of separating from the Hierarchy—Principles of the first Separatists—The Separatists not Schismatics—Chillingworth's Testimony—Arrest at Plumbers' Hall—Progress of Persecution—Examination of Axton—Progress of Opinion amongst the Puritans—Cartwright advocates a Presbyterian System—Deprived of his Lectureship—His Propositions—Expulsion from the University—Puritans supported in the Parliament of 1571.

THE puritans were now compelled to deliberate on the propriety of holding separate meetings for religious worship. Their ministers were ejected from the church, the reforms which they sought were sternly denied, the publication of their sentiments was prohibited, and a fixed determination was avowed to retain in the constitution and ritual of the establishment what they deemed incompatible with the purity and extension of religion. As faithful men, therefore, they were compelled to inquire what further steps they should take. Were they to practise rites which they regarded as unlawful ; to connive at and to sanction a system which they partially disapproved ? or were they, by the assertion of their Christian liberty, to release conscience from restraint, and thus secure to themselves and their descendants a purer form of ecclesiastical polity ? While their scruples were respected, they clung to the establishment with filial piety. But the resolu-

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tion now taken by those in authority to force their submission, or to deprive them of their ministry, necessitated the contemplation of a step adverse to their most cherished prejudices, and fraught with consequences from which they might well shrink. They knew something of the temper of the archbishop and queen, and had already seen indubitable evidence of their readiness to punish every departure from the prescribed rule. If the neglect of a surplice, or the omission of a few words, were visited with deprivation and imprisonment, what was to be expected if the standard of revolt should be openly raised, and hostile forms of worship practised? These considerations could not but influence the more prudent and timid, while others of a higher order powerfully tended to prevent so decided a step. Many who were dissatisfied with the ceremonial of the church esteemed it their duty to remain in her communion. They regarded the points wherein they differed from their brethren as trifling compared with those in which they agreed. The pure doctrine of the word was recognized in her standards of faith, and proclaimed from many of her pulpits. The way of salvation was taught within her pale, and hope was entertained of the queen's heart being drawn to a purer ritual, and a more effective discipline, than she was yet prepared to sanction. Some of the puritan ministers condemned separation as an unmixed evil, fraught with the elements of discord, and tending to the dishonour of the Christian name. Others urged the obligation of their ministry as paramount to the authority of the prince; and, without being aware of the extent or value of the principle, began to urge the unlawfulness of the

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civil magistrate enforcing ecclesiastical regulations. This momentous principle, whose complicated bearings are yet but partially understood, was then in the first stage of its development. It was matter of feeling rather than of judgment; one of those instinctive appeals which the human mind frequently makes in the season of trial to the primary laws of its nature. It arose from the pressure of circumstances, and was generally discountenanced even by the wise and good. But it has survived its defamers, and has slowly commanded regard. Its accordance with the nature of man and the spirit of Christianity was gradually elicited, till at length it has been enrolled amongst the axioms of the most intelligent and impartial of mankind. Nor were the laity unconcerned in this matter; they displayed a zeal fully equal to their ministers, and in many cases urged them to more decisive measures. Hence a division took place amongst the puritans which prepared the way for the sweeping changes advocated by Cartwright and his disciples." "The refusers of the orders of the church," says Strype, "who by this time were commonly called puritans, were grown now into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanour; who indeed would not use

" It should be frankly admitted that Fox, Coverdale, and other leading puritans strongly censured such of their brethren as separated from the establishment. They endeavoured to prevent it; but, as is usual in the course of revolutions, whether religious or political, the moderation of their counsels impaired their own influence, instead of diminishing the zeal of others. Some of them complained

of being treated with unkindness in consequence of their having disapproved of the measures of their brethren. The fact was probably so, nor need we withhold our censure from such obliquities on account of our sympathy with the general views of those chargeable with them.— Fuller, ix. 106. Collier, ii. 511. Strype's Parker, i. 482.

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the habits, nor subscribe to the ceremonies enjoined ; as kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage ; but held to the communion of the church, and willingly and devoutly joined with the common prayers. But another sort there was, that disliked the whole constitution of the church lately reformed ; charging upon it many gross remainders of popery, and that it was still full of corruptions not to be borne with and anti-christian ; and especially the habits which the clergy were enjoined to use in their conversation and ministration. Insomuch that these latter separated themselves into private assemblies, meeting together, not in churches, but in private houses, where they had ministers of their own. And at these meetings, rejecting wholly the Book of Common Prayer, they used a book of prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there ; which book had been overseen and allowed by Calvin and the rest of his divines there, and indeed was for the most part taken out of the Geneva form. And at these clancular and separate congregations, they had not only prayers and sermons, but the Lord's supper also sometimes administered. This gave great offence to the queen, thus openly to turn their backs against that Reformation which she so carefully had ordered and established.”^v

Principles of
the first Separatists.

In order to an enlightened estimate of the conduct of the separatists, it is necessary to ascertain their principles. These were neither so few nor so trifling as is generally represented by their enemies. They were not confined to insignificant scruples,

^v Life of Grindal, p. 168.

which a little more expansion of mind would have removed ; but embraced many of the more prominent features of the hierarchy, and constituted a medium between those of the earliest puritans and such as were shortly afterwards so boldly advocated by the Cambridge professor.

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They objected to the ecclesiastical supremacy and temporal dignities of the bishops ; to the numerous titles and offices of archdeacons, deans, chapters, and other officials ; to the exorbitant power of the bishops and their chancellors in the spiritual courts ; and to the want of godly discipline. They likewise disapproved of many things in the public liturgy, as the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, the responses of the people, and some passages in the offices of marriage and of burial. They disliked the reading of the apocryphal scriptures, the system of patronage, the observance of church festivals, and the cathedral mode of worship. In addition to all which, they strongly objected to many of the ceremonies of the church, as the sign of the cross in baptism, the substitution of godfathers and godmothers in the place of parents, the confirming of children, bowing at the name of Jesus, the ring in marriage, and the surplice and other ceremonies used in divine service.^w

^w Neal's Puritans, i. 192—196 ; where the reader will find these principles stated more fully, with the reasonings by which they were supported. Mr. Neal is certainly misled in further stating, p. 196, that the puritans were also distinguished by asserting " the natural right that every man has to judge for himself, and make profession of that religion he apprehends most agreeable to truth, so far as it does not affect

the peace and safety of the government he lives under ; without being determined by the prejudices of education, the laws of the civil magistrate, or the decrees of councils, churches, or synods." Nor is his editor, Dr. Toulmin, successful in defending him from the criticism of bishop Warburton. The passage to which Dr. T. refers in p. 199, proves only that the party in question deemed it unlawful for the prince to en-

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The Separatists not
Schismatics.

Such being their principles, they were naturally led to separate from the established church. No other course was open to them. The only alternative was submission to what they deemed unscriptural and pernicious. Hence the absurdity of the charge of schism, which has been so liberally preferred by the advocates of the church. It matters not, so far as this charge is concerned, whether the principles of the separatists were erroneous or true. They were bound to act upon them, and the attempt to prevent their doing so by deprivation and imprisonment constitutes the only schism of the case. The charge lies against the rulers of the church, and not against those who seceded from her. The former, by their tyrannical impositions, destroyed the unity of the church; while the latter, by refusing to submit to their pleasure, only performed an act of loyalty to Christ. Had they done otherwise, they might have retained their emoluments, but they would have been converted into wages of iniquity; they might have pleased the primate and the queen, but it would have been at the expense of His displeasure who is "head over all things to the church."

It is perfectly childish to confound separation and schism. The former may not only be guiltless, but be eminently praiseworthy; while the latter is invariably criminal in its origin, and pernicious in its fruits.* This distinction is clearly maintained by Chillingworth, and other protestant writers, in

force "that which appertained to papistry, idolatry, and the pope's canon law." A different opinion probably would have been expressed, had the views of the puritan party been in question.

* "Schism, in fact, is a thing bad in itself; bad in its very nature: separation may be good or bad, according to circumstances. A schismatic is an epithet of criminality; it indicates the personal

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Chillingworth's testimony.

their controversy with the Romanists ; and the principles which they so triumphantly advocated in behalf of protestantism are equally applicable to the case before us. "Not protestants for rejecting," says Chillingworth, "but the church of Rome for imposing upon the faith of Christians, doctrines unwritten and unnecessary, and for disturbing the church's peace and dividing unity for such matters, is, in a high degree, presumptuous and schismatical." Again, he says, as if the case of the puritans were directly in his view, "If this church, supposed to want nothing necessary, require me to profess, against my conscience, that I believe some error, though never so small and innocent, which I do not believe, and will not allow me her communion but upon this condition ; in this case, the church, for requiring this condition, is schismatical, and not I, for separating from the church." Again, in his answer to the preface of his opponent, he vindicates his church from the charge of schism ; and his argument, and even his language, may be adopted by the puritan as admirably suited to his case, and completely successful in its vindication. To the popish inquiry, '*How they can be excused*

character of the individual, and it describes that character as bad. A separatist is merely a name of circumstance: in itself it is neither bad nor good ; it indicates nothing as to the personal character of the individual, it merely describes his position in relation to others. Schism can exist, as we have seen, where there is no separation, and separation itself is not necessarily schism ; not necessarily so, for, while it may be occasioned by crime, it may be occasioned by virtue ; it may result,

in those who depart from intolerance attempted, or intolerance sustained, from the pride of faction, or the predominance of principle ; attachment to party, or attachment to truth. A schismatic, in short, *must* be a sinner, on which ever side he stands ; a separatist *may* be 'more sinned against than sinning.'—*Dissent not Schism*. By the Rev. Thomas Binney.

† Preface to the author of *Charity Maintained*, &c. Secs. 35-44.

CHAP. VIII. *from schism, who forsook her communion upon pretence of errors which were not damnable ?—the very*

ELIZ. case of the puritans in relation to the church of England—Chillingworth replies, “ All that we forsake in you is only the belief, and practice, and profession of your errors. Hereupon you cast us out of your communion. And then, with a strange, and contradictory, and ridiculous hypocrisy, complain that we forsake it. As if a man should thrust his friend out of doors, and then be offended at his departure. But for us not to forsake the belief of your errors, having discovered them to be errors, was impossible ; therefore, to do so could not be damnable, believing them to be errors. Not to forsake the practice and profession of them had been damnable hypocrisy, supposing that (which you vainly run away with, and take for granted) those errors themselves were not damnable. Now to do so, and, as matters now stand, not to forsake your communion, is apparently contradictory ; seeing the condition of your communion is, that we must profess to believe all your doctrines not only not to be damnable errors (which will not content you), but also to be certain, and necessary, and revealed truths. So that, to demand why we forsake your communion upon pretence of errors which are not damnable, is, in effect, to demand why we forsook it upon our forsaking it ? For, to pretend that there are errors in your church, though not damnable, is, *ipso facto*, to forsake your communion ; and to do that which, both in your account, and, as you think, in God’s account, puts him that does so out of your communion. So that, either you must free your church from requiring the

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belief of any error whatsoever, damnable and not damnable; or, whether you will or no, you must free us from schism. For schism there cannot be, in leaving your communion, unless we were obliged to continue in it. Man cannot be obliged by man, but to what either primarily or virtually he is obliged by God; for all just power is from God. God, the eternal truth, neither can nor will oblige us to believe any, the least and the most innocent, falsehood to be a divine truth—that is to err; nor to profess a known error—which is to lie. So that, if you require the belief of any error among the conditions of your communion, our obligation to communicate with you ceaseth; and so the imputation of schism to us perishes into nothing, but lies heavy upon you for making our separation from you just and necessary, by requiring unnecessary and unlawful conditions of your communion.”^z

The chief leaders of the separation were Coleman, Button, Halingham, and Benson; all beneficed within the diocese of London.^a Their meetings were strictly private, and were held in various places. Sometimes they assembled in barns, woods, and fields; and at other times, under various pretences, in their own houses.^b But they could not long elude the vigilant tyranny of their persecutors.

^z Answer to the Preface of *Charity Maintained*. Sec. 22. Surely the advocates of the Establishment must be acquainted with these and numerous similar passages in the writings of Chillingworth; and, if so, what must be thought of their candour in reiterating the charge of schism against the puritan separatists? “Yourselves,” said Ainsworth, “are a precedent to

us of like practice, in separating, not *in*, but *out of*, the church of Rome: as you have dealt with the mother, so do we with the daughter, because *like mother like daughter*, according to the proverb. Ezek. xvi. 44.”—Counter Poyson, 1589, p. 8.

^a Fuller, ix. 81.

^b Heylin’s Hist. of Presbyterians, 259.

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Arrest at
Plumbers'
Hall, June
19, 1567.

The queen and council, hearing of these meetings, sent to the bishop of London, directing him to search after those who frequented them; to endeavour, by persuasion, to bring them to conformity; and, if this failed, to deprive them, in the first place, of the liberty of the city, and afterwards to inflict such other more severe penalties as they might deem fit. Undeterred, however, by the sufferings thus prepared for them, the seceders continued their assemblies; and, at length, ventured more openly to meet at Plumbers' Hall, which they hired for the day under pretence of a wedding. Here they were discovered by the sheriffs of London, and several of them were committed to the Compter. On the following day seven were brought before the lord mayor, the bishop of London, and other ecclesiastical commissioners. The bishop charged them with absenting themselves from their parish churches; and with setting up unlawful meetings for prayer, preaching, and the administration of the sacraments; telling them they thus condemned "the whole state of the church reformed in King Edward's days; which was well reformed according to the word of God; yea, and many good men have shed their blood for the same, which your doings condemn." To which one of them, by the name of Smith, replied, "So long as we might have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered, without the preferring of idolatrous gear above it, we never assembled together in houses. But, when it came to this point, that all our preachers were displaced by your law that would not subscribe to your apparel and your law, so that we could hear none of them in any church, by the space of seven

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or eight weeks, except father Coverdale—and then were we troubled, and commanded to your courts from day to day, for not coming to our parish churches. Then we bethought us what were best to do ; and we remembered that there was a congregation of us in this city in queen Mary's days, and a congregation at Geneva, which used a book and order of preaching, &c., most agreeable to the word of God ; which book is allowed by that godly and well learned man, Master Calvin, and the preachers there ; which book and order we now hold. And, if you can reprove this book, or any thing that we hold, by the word of God, we will yield to you, and do open penance at Paul's Cross ; if not, we will stand to it, by the grace of God."

They then complained of the popish character of some of the preachers, and affirmed that the kingly authority of Christ was sacrificed to the pope's canon law, and the will of the prince. When asked by the bishop, what was preferred to this authority? they replied, "That which is upon your head, and upon your back ; your copes and your surplices, and your laws and ministers ; because you will suffer none to preach, nor minister, except he wear them, or subscribe to them." Grindal reminded them of Sampson and Lever, who still preached ; to which they rejoined, "Though they preach, you have deprived them, and forbidden them ; and the law standeth in force against them still, howsoever you suffer them now." The bishop urged the opinion of the learned ; all of whom, he said, were against them : but they boldly replied, "We will be tried by the word of God, which shall judge us all at the last day." Whereupon the dean

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of Westminster, betraying his ignorance of the faith he professed, inquired, "But who will ye have to be judge of the word of God?" To whom they answered, "Why, that was the saying of the papists in queen Mary's time. I have heard it, when the truth was defended by the word of God, then they would say, Who shall judge of the word of God? *The Catholic Church* must be judge!"^c Refusing to abjure their principles, or to conform to the established ceremonies, they were sent to Bridewell, where they remained upwards of a year. The bishop endeavoured to reclaim them, but without success; when, "pitying their condition," Strype tells us, "he moved the secretary, that clemency might be used towards them; that so, by giving them freely their liberty, only with an admonition, they might be more prevailed withal to comply

^c Strype's Grindal, 169-176.—
A Parte of a Register, 23-37.—
The Lord Mayor was evidently disinclined to the part he was compelled to act. He compassionated the prisoners, and gently endeavoured to persuade them to submit. "Well, good people," he said; "I would you would wisely consider these things, and be obedient to the queen's majesty's good laws, as I and other of the queen's subjects are, that you may live quietly, and have liberty, as my lord here and masters have said. And as, for my part, I would that you were at your hearts' ease, and I am sorry that ye are troubled: but I am an officer under my prince, and, therefore, blame not me. I cannot talk learnedly with you in *celestial matters*; but I have a mother wit, and I will persuade the best I can. The queen hath not established these garments and things for any holiness' sake

or religion, but only for a civil order and comeliness: because she should have the ministers known from other men; as the aldermen are known by their tippetts, and the judges by their red gowns, and sometimes they wear coifs; and likewise lords' servants are known by their badges. I will tell you an example: there was an alderman within this year that went in the street, and a boisterous fellow met him, and went between him and the wall, and put him towards the kennel. And some that were there about him, said to him, "Knowest thou not what thou doest?—he is an alderman." And he said, "I knew him not; he might have worn his tippet." Even so, when the ministers began to be despised, the queen's grace did ordain this priests' apparel, but the people cannot be content, and like it.—*Ibid.*, 30.

with the laws, than by severity." His suggestion was adopted; and, in April, 1569, twenty-four men and seven women were released, with an intimation that severer measures would be adopted in case of another offence.^d

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Progress of
Persecution.

In this affair, the progressive nature of ecclesiastical pride and intolerance may be seen. The rulers of the church first sought merely to prevent the entrance into its offices of such as scrupled conformity to its rights; they then proceeded to eject those who were similarly disposed; but, in the instance before us, they advanced with fearful rapidity to rival the papacy itself. "The principle of intolerance," it has been remarked, "was affirmed by deeds as well as by words. The minor machinery of persecution was put together, and set up—nay, it was brought into activity; a pernicious example, little excused by the limited extent of its immediate mischief."^e What injury could have befallen religion by leaving these men to themselves? Charity and justice required it, and the spirit of protestantism demanded it on their behalf. Grindal was personally tolerant, but the system which he worked was despotic and persecuting. Its influence on himself was unhappily shown in subsequent transactions; wherein he appears to have thrown aside the gentleness of his nature, and to have assumed the sternness of Parker, if not the fiercer bigotry of Whitgift. It is not in human nature to conduct the operations of such a system without receiving its unhallowed impressions.

The persecution of the puritans now proceeded with greater vigor than ever. The archbishop

^d Grindal, 200.

^e Sir J. Mackintosh's *England*, iii. 133.

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endeavoured to diffuse his spirit throughout the kingdom, and was constantly employed in stirring up his brethren to rigorous measures, or in suggesting to the queen and her ministers suspicions of the political character and views of his opponents. Every means was employed to discover the number, reputation, and intentions of those who were dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical government. Great numbers were summoned into the spiritual courts, the rules of whose proceedings were as adverse to moral as they were subversive of political rights. It was not unusual to tender an oath to the accused, pledging him to answer all questions, though framed for the purpose of implicating himself or his friends. This practice became, subsequently, more general, and constituted a fearful instrument of intolerance and cruelty. Amongst the many obligations under which the puritans have laid their country, it is by no means the least, that they denounced this oath as a palpable infraction of the spirit and principles of the English constitution. "Leaving these unjust and lawless men," said an early puritan writer, "with their bad practices and fond inventions, I doubt not, by these few yet effectual proofs and authorities, it doth manifestly appear unto all men of upright and sound judgment, that as well the imposing as the taking of these general oaths is a profane abusing of the holy name of God ; that the exacting of oaths, *ex officio*, is a great indignity to the crown and sceptre of this kingdom, and a wrong and injury to the freedom and liberty of the subjects thereof. That the same is not necessary or profitable to the church and commonwealth, but hurtful to them both ;

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brought in only by the practice of the popish clergy, to the prejudice of the public peace and tranquillity of this realm; and that the same never had any good allowance by any law, custom, ordinance, or statute of this kingdom, neither yet put in use by any civil magistrate of this land: but as it corruptly crept in among many other abuses, by the sinister practice and pretences of the Romish prelates and clergymen, so this their unlawful dealing hath been, from time to time, by lawful and just authority impugned and restrained.”^f

The puritans, while protesting against this oath, were divided in opinion on the propriety of taking it. Some deemed it an unlawful surrender of their liberty; while others, confiding in their integrity, scorned concealment, and maintained the obligation of making an unreserved disclosure of their principles and plans. An example of this is supplied in the examination of Mr. Axton, minister of Morton Corbet, in Leicestershire. He had been cited into the bishop’s court three different times in the year 1570; and was examined respecting the apparel, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the sacrament; all of which he scrupled. He disdained to conceal his sentiments, though aware of the consequences which would flow from their disclosure. The bishop of Litchfield demanding to know his opinion of “the calling of the bishops of England,” the following dialogue took place:—

Axton. It seemeth strange unto me that you

^f A briefe treatise of oathes exacted by Ordinaries and Ecclesiasticall Judges, to answer generally to all such Articles or Interrogatories as pleaseth them to

propound. And of their forced and constrained oathes, *ex officio*, wherein is proved that the same are unlawfull, p. 57.

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should propound this question unto me, especially in this place, and at this time. I am not ignorant into what great danger I may fall by answering unto your question ; neither can I be compelled to answer hereunto, being not accused of any thing by any.

Bishop. Yes, I may compel you to answer upon your oath.

Axton. And if you do so, I may choose whether I will answer upon mine oath or not.

Bishop. But I may urge you with your own speeches, which you used the last time you were before me.

Axton. That which I spake willingly then, to the glory of God, that will I also speak willingly now.

Bishop. But I marvel why you, being so bold before without all motion, should be so doubtful now to speak, being required.

Axton. I do not know to what end you do ask me these things, or whether it be only to bring me into danger or no ; and I might have conscience not to thrust myself into danger. But, at this time, because I am persuaded it shall redound to God's glory, I will speak my conscience, whatever danger shall ensue. And I beseech you, in Jesus Christ, to hear me in the fear of God, as certainly, by the assistance of his Holy Spirit, I shall speak nothing but in his fear, and that which is so grounded in my conscience out of his word, as I am persuaded I ought to die in the defence thereof ; and do trust, not in myself, but in his Holy Spirit, that I shall be most willing to die, as well in the defence of this truth, as in the defence of any article of my faith,

if it shall so please the Lord to make a trial of me.

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Bishop. What do you think of me? I dare say you account me to be no lawful bishop?

Axton. You are not lawfully called to be a bishop according to the word of God.

Bishop. I thought so. But why am I not a lawful bishop?

Axton. For three causes especially:—the first is, for that you are not ordained a bishop by the consent of the eldership. The second, because you are not ordained to be a bishop over any one flock, for you say you are a bishop over the whole diocese, and then you are a bishop over many flocks; and yet you do not think that you are bishop (that is, pastor) over any of these congregations. The third, because you are not chosen to be a governor in the church of God by the election of the people.^g

But these severe measures failed to accomplish the end for which they were employed. Instead of subduing opposition, they aroused and extended it. Men were led to examine the foundations of the power by which they were so cruelly oppressed. The influence of education and early attachment was thus counteracted; until at length a determination was avowed to overturn a system whose reformation only had previously been sought. This is the natural course of things. It is one of the ordinances of Divine Providence, whereby good is brought out of evil, and the purity of the church advanced by the sufferings of its members. The human mind is, for the most part, so indolent, and the influences which induce acquiescence in received opinions and

Progress of
opinion
amongst the
Puritans.

^g MS. pp. 45—48.

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practices are so numerous and powerful, that some stirring motive is usually required to force men to trace out the legitimate extent of their principles. In the first period of their history, the puritans were opposed only to the habits, and a few of the ceremonies of the church. Had their scruples been respected, or any disposition been evinced to meet their case with fairness and charity, their opposition, probably, would not have proceeded farther. Attached to the church by many of the most powerful ties which can bind the human mind, they would gladly have remained in her communion. But, when their consciences were forced; when attempts were made to constrain their performance of services which they disapproved; when the bishops, instead of being overseers, became lords of the church of Christ, and pursued with avidity every scheme which could increase their wealth, or strengthen their power; then the puritans were driven to a closer and more scrutinizing examination of the existing system than they would otherwise have instituted. The consequence of this was a rejection of the episcopal order, and a preference of the presbyterian form of church government. They had seen this latter system at Geneva, and other places on the continent, and had witnessed the struggles recently made on its behalf in the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland.

Thomas
Cartwright
advocates a
Presbyterian
system.

1570.

The leader of this section of the puritan body—which rapidly increased in numbers, and was eminent for zeal, activity, and learning—was Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's professor of that university. He was a man of distinguished learning, and of undoubted piety; with controversial

powers well fitted to the age in which he lived, and an ardent temperament, that no discouragements or difficulties could subdue. In his divinity lectures he advocated the equality of ministers, and a return to the discipline of apostolic times.^h His

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^h Sir George Paule, the panegyrist rather than the biographer of Whitgift, has attempted to discredit Cartwright by impugning his motives. In the year 1564, on the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to the university, Cartwright, as one of the most learned of that body, was chosen, with others, to dispute before her. Paule represents him as mortified by the neglect with which the queen treated him, and as proceeding immediately to Geneva, "that he might the better feed his humour." "Mr. Cartwright," he says, "immediately after her majesty's neglect of him, began to wade into diverse opinions, as that of the *discipline*; and to kick against her ecclesiastical government."—Life of Whitgift, 10. Heylin, Hist. of Reformation, 164; and Collier, Ecclesiastical Hist. ii. 492, have retailed this slander; in which unworthy conduct they have been followed by several modern writers. Fuller mentions the charge with evident marks of distrust. "We find one great scholar," he remarks, "much discontented, if my author may be believed, namely, Mr. Thomas Cartwright. He and Thomas Preston were appointed two of the four disputants in the philosophy act before the queen. Cartwright had dealt most with the muses, Preston with the graces, adorning his learning with comely carriage, graceful gesture, and pleasing pronunciation. Cartwright disputed like a great, Preston like a genteel, scholar, being a handsome man; and the queen, upon parity of deserts, always preferred properness of person, in conferring her favours."

And he adds, "Mr. Cartwright's followers credit not the relation. Adding, moreover, that the queen did highly commend, though not reward, him."—Hist. of the University of Cambridge, 139. Cartwright's general character is sufficient to discredit this account. But its inaccuracy is rendered more apparent by the fact, that his visit to Geneva, which Paule represents as the consequence of his disgust at the queen's neglect, and as the source of those opinions for which he was deprived of his professorship, did not take place till after his expulsion from the university. Strype exonerates Cartwright, alleging that, "by the relation of the queen's reception at Cambridge (now in the hands of a learned member of that university), there appears no clear ground for any such discontent. For the queen is said there to have approved them all; only that Preston pleased her most; and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a yearly honorary salary on him."—Annals i. ii. 107. His elevation to the divinity chair, in 1569, is ample evidence of the estimation in which he was held by the university, and would have sufficed to calm his spirit had it been perturbed by such emotions as his enemies were forward in attributing to him. It was due to the memory of this eminent man to vindicate him from so foul an aspersion. But what must we think of those modern libellers, who, passing over the admission of Strype, and the mistrust of Fuller, retail the venom of Paule, Heylin, and Collier?

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popularity in the university was great, especially amongst the students, who flocked to his lectures, and eagerly imbibed his sentiments. The chancellor was soon informed of his proceedings; and Grindal, now archbishop of York, at the suggestion of some of the heads of colleges, addressed a letter to Cecil, praying him to interpose his authority for the correction of so great an evil. This letter is dated June 24, 1570, and represents Cartwright as making "daily invectives against the external policy and distinction of states, in the ecclesiastical government of this realm." "The youth of the university," says Grindal, "which is at this time very toward in learning, doth frequent his lectures in great numbers; and therefore in danger to be poisoned by him, with love of contention and liking of novelties; and so become hereafter, not only unprofitable, but also hurtful to the church." He therefore prayed the chancellor to cause Cartwright and his adherents to be silenced, "both in schools and pulpits;" and, if they did not conform, to be expelled "out of their colleges, or out of the university, as the cause shall require." Also, that Cartwright should be prevented from taking his degree, as doctor of divinity, for which he had made application!ⁱ Letters were also sent to Sir William Cecil, by some members of the university, in vindication of Cartwright; for "he had," says Strype, "a great party in the university, and some of them men of learning, who stuck close to him, exceedingly admiring him."^j He himself, in an elegant Latin letter, dated July 9, 1570, declared to the chancellor, "that none was so averse to

ⁱ Strype's Grindal, 240.^j Annals, ii. 1, 2.

sedition, and the study of contention, and that he had taught nothing which flowed not naturally from the text which he treated of. And that, when an occasion offered itself of speaking concerning the *habits*, he waved it. He denied not, but that he taught that our ministry declined from the ministry of the ancient and apostolical church; which he wished might be framed and modelled according to the purity of our reformation. But that he did this sedately, that none could find fault with it but some ignorant or malign hearers, or such as caught at something to calumniate him.”^k

The chancellor, after maturely considering the matter, sent a letter to the heads of the university, enjoining on both parties perfect silence respecting the controverted points. He appears to have been satisfied of Cartwright’s integrity, and was disposed to proceed with tenderness towards him. “How far,” he says, “Mr. Cartwright herein proceeded, I cannot certainly determine; being by himself, and a testimonial of others of that university, of good name, advertised in one sort; and by others also there, whom I have cause to trust, in another sort. What mind he had in the moving of these matters, by himself in communication, I perceive the same not to be much reprehended; being, as it seemeth, not of any arrogancy, or intention to move troubles; but, as a reader of the Scriptures, to give notes, by way of comparison, between the order of the ministry in the times of the apostles, and the present times now in this church of England.”^l

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Whitgift and his associates, instead of following the advice of their chancellor, proceeded to admo- Deprived of his lecture-ship.

^k Annals, ii. i. 3.^l Ibid., i. ii. 377.

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Dec. 11, 1570.

Propositions
of Cartwright.

nish Cartwright to retract his opinions. This he firmly refused to do; and was, in consequence, deprived of his stipend, though permitted to continue his lecture.^m Whitgift, being soon afterwards chosen vice-chancellor, summoned Cartwright before him; and, being "armed with authority," as Fuller expresses it, he required him to renounce his sentiments; and, on his refusal, deprived him of his lectureship, and prohibited his preaching within the university, or its jurisdiction.ⁿ

The propositions which Cartwright had presented to the vice-chancellor were the following, which strikingly display the progress of opinion, notwithstanding the violent methods which were employed to restrain it. 1. The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished. 2. The offices of the lawful ministers of the church, as bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to the apostolical institution. Bishops to be employed in preaching and in prayer, and deacons in ministering to the poor. 3. The government of the church ought not to be entrusted to the chancellors of bishops, or to the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own ministry and presbytery.^o 4. Ministers ought not to be at large, but should have charge of some one particular flock. 5. No one ought to solicit or stand as a candidate for the ministry. 6. Ministers ought not to be made by the sole authority and power of

^m Clarke's *Lives of Thirty-two English divines*, &c. p. 17.

ⁿ Strype's *Whitgift*, app. 9.

^o Strype, in his *Annals*, i. ii. 380, reads *presbyterium*; but, in his appendix to the *Life of Whit-*

gift, Number 9, he reads *presbyterum*, in which he agrees with Clarke, p. 18, who tells us, he copied out of the original in the university registry.

bishops, much less in a study, or any private place; but the election ought to be made by the church.^p

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Other opinions, deemed heretical, were extracted from his lectures, and sent to court to prejudice him still further in the estimation of the queen and chancellor.^q His case was prejudged; and his enemies soon succeeded in depriving him of his fellowship, and in banishing him from the university.

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His expulsion
from the Uni-
versity, &c.

The pretence for this severity was as flimsy as the sentence was unjust. The college statutes required a senior fellow to take the *order of priesthood*; which it was alleged Cartwright had not done, he being only in *deacon's orders*. He was therefore judged to be perjured, and was expelled accordingly. The whole case depends on the meaning of the phrase *order of priesthood*. Whitgift, and his abettors, contended for a restricted interpretation; while Cartwright maintained, that it was of more comprehensive import, and included the diaconal as well as the ministerial order. The church of England maintains a threefold order of ministers; and assigns to the lowest, that of deacons, the administration of baptism, and the preaching of the word.^r Hence it would appear, that Cartwright was correct in his view of the contested phrase, and that the use his enemies made of it was prompted by a predetermination to expel him from their body, rather than by an honest concern for the maintenance of the university statutes. "Some

^p Strype's Whitgift, App. 9. Annals i. ii. 380. Neal has given a different version of the sixth proposition, in which he is mani-

festly incorrect. Hist. of Puritans, i. 212.

^q Annals, i. ii. 381.

^r Sparrow's Collection, &c. 146.

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of his accusations," says Cartwright, referring to Whitgift, "touch the cause, but the most part touch it not. Of this latter kind, one sort are of my manner of living, albeit he count it *a childish kind of confuting, that one should leave the cause, and take himself to the person.* Here my ministry is diversely accused, as that I did not seek for the order of priesthood, as it is called; for that is that he meaneth, *I should have done by oath, or else departed the college.* The answer hereto is longer than this treatise may embrace; which I am ready to exhibit before him to whom it belongeth: because I am provoked, I humbly desire him to receive the cause. But, in a word, it is a mere cavil. For the meaning of the statute of the house is to provide that men should not turn their studies to other professions, of law, &c.; but that there should be to furnish the college of a number of preachers, of which I was one as soon as I entered. Neither was there any duty of ministry which the college could require of me, that I was not enabled to do according to the laws of the church of England, by virtue of that ministry which I had received. So that the law itself (as that whose meaning was fulfilled even with my entry) did not require it. Also the corruption of the law, or at the least, of his interpretation (binding men to beg a ministry, and thereby, after a sort, to testify of themselves that they be fit for it), might, after knowledge that I ought not to beg it, justly keep me back."• The personal hostility of Whitgift is apparent throughout this affair; nor can it be denied, that a similar feeling was generated in the nobler breast of Cartwright. The con-

• Second reply to Whitgift.—Epistle to the Church of England, p. 9.

troversy in which they subsequently engaged afforded ample opportunities for its display. The bitterness which oppression engenders is legible in the writings of the latter, while those of the former display the insolence and hard-heartedness of ecclesiastical power, and the affected contempt of wounded pride. Cartwright, on his expulsion from the university, repaired to Geneva; where he formed an intimacy with Beza, the coadjutor and successor of Calvin.

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In the parliament which met April 1571, a strong disposition to complete the reformation of the church was evinced. Soon after the commencement of the session, "Mr. Strickland, a grave and ancient man, of great zeal," introduced the subject in a temperate speech, in which he avowed his conviction that there were some things superstitious in the Book of Common Prayer. "He spake at large of the abuses of the church of England and of the churchmen; as, first, that known papists are admitted to have ecclesiastical government and great livings; that godly, honest, and learned protestants have little or nothing; that boys are dispensed with to have spiritual promotions; that by friendship with the master of the faculties, either unable men are qualified, or some one man allowed to have too many several livings; finally, he concluded with petition, that, by authority of the house, some convenient number of them might be assigned to have conference with the lords of the spirituality, for consideration and reformation of the matters by him remembered."¹ He proceeded a few days afterwards to introduce a bill for the reformation of

Puritans supported in the Commons.
1571.

April 14.

¹ D'Ewes's Journal, p. 157.

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the Book of Common Prayer, which was opposed by the queen's ministers on the ground of its being an invasion of her prerogative. He succeeded, however, in having it read a first time.^v During the Easter recess he was called before the lords of the privy council, and was commanded to refrain, during their pleasure, from attending on parliament.^v This gave rise to an animated discussion in the commons, in which may be traced the germ of that spirit which constituted the bulwark of English liberty in the subsequent reigns of James and Charles.

Mr. Carleton signified to the house that one of their members was detained from them, "by whose commandment, or for what cause, he knew not. But for as much as he was not now a private man, but to supply the room, person, and place of a multitude specially chosen, and therefore sent, he thought that neither in regard of the country, which was not to be wronged, nor for the liberty of the house, which was not to be infringed, we should permit him to be detained from us." Another member remarked, "The precedent was perilous, and though in this happy time of lenity, among so good and honourable personages, under so gracious a prince, nothing of extremity or injury was to be feared; yet the times might be altered, and what now is permitted, hereafter might be construed as of duty, and enforced even on this ground of the present permission. That all matters not treason, or too much to the derogation of the imperial crown, were tolerable there, where all things came to be considered of, and where there was such fulness of power, as even the right of the crown was to be

^v D'Ewes's Journal, 166.^v Ibid., 168.

determined. That to say the parliament had no power to determine of the crown, was high treason. He remembered how that men are not there for themselves, but for their countries. That it was fit for princes to have their prerogatives; but yet the same to be straitened within reasonable limits. The prince could not of herself make laws, neither might she by the same reason break laws. That the speech uttered in that place, and the offer made of the bill, were not to be condemned as evil; for that if there were any thing in the Book of Common Prayer, either Jewish, Turkish, or Popish, the same was to be reformed."^w The result of the discussion was, that Mr. Strickland was permitted to resume his place, and that the house showed an increased determination to proceed in measures of ecclesiastical reform. Various other bills were introduced, amongst which was one to enforce the articles of religion agreed on in the convocation of 1562. Some of these respected the ceremonies of the church and the ecclesiastical supremacy vested in the crown. To these the puritan party opposed themselves, and their influence was sufficiently powerful to confine the sanction of parliament to such of the articles as pertained to matters of faith. The statute of 13 Eliz., c. 12, accordingly enacts, that every priest or minister shall subscribe to all the articles of religion which *only* concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book entitled "Articles whereupon it was agreed," &c.^x That

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^w D'Ewes, 175.^x This limitation was of little practical utility, the bishops invariably enforcing subscription to

all the articles. In so doing, they acted without authority; but it was in vain for the puritans to protest, for the queen and the

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this limitation was introduced with design, is placed beyond doubt by a remarkable conversation which Mr. Wentworth, one of the committee appointed by the commons to wait on the archbishop, represents to have taken place between himself and the primate. Speaking in the session of 1575, on behalf of the liberties of parliament, he severely reflects on the dignitaries of the church, as the great hinderance of its reformation. "I have heard of old parliament men," he says, "that the banishment of the pope and popery, and the restoring of true religion, had their beginning from this house, and not from the bishops; and I have heard that few laws for religion had their foundation from them; and I do surely think, before God I speak it, that the bishops were the cause of that doleful message (from the queen), and I will show you what moveth me so to think. I was, amongst others, the last parliament, sent unto the bishop of Canterbury, for the articles of religion that then passed this house. He asked us why we did put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like? Surely, Sir, said I, because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them, how they agreed with the word of God. What, said he, surely you mistook the matter, you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein. No, by the faith I bear to God, said I, we will pass nothing before we know what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list, said I, for we will make you none.

primate were against them. Several were in consequence deprived in 1572, for not subscribing to the articles, whose only objec-

tion was to those which respected ceremonies.—*Strype's Annals*, ii. i. 276.

And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me to be a pope-like speech, and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the pope's canons unto themselves, *Papa non potest errare* ; for surely if they did not, they would reform things amiss, and not to spurn against God's people for writing therein as they do; but I can tell them news, they do but kick against the pricks, for undoubtedly they both have and do err, and God will reveal his truth, maugre the hearts of them and all his enemies, for great is the truth, and it will prevail.”^y

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^y D'Ewes, 239. Hallam's Con. Hist., i. 260. Mr. Wentworth was committed by the house to the custody of its serjeant, for some passages in this speech which it was alleged reflected on the queen. A committee was also appointed, before which he was examined; but the court, though its influence prevailed thus far, obtained little advantage by its prosecution of this distinguished and intrepid patriot. “I do thank the Lord my God,” said he to the committee, “that I never found fear in myself to give the queen's majesty warning to avoid her danger. Be you all afraid thereof if you will, for I praise God I am not, and I hope never to live to see that day; and yet I will assure your honours that twenty times and more, when I walked in my grounds, revolving this speech to prepare against this day, my own fearful conceit did say unto me that this speech would carry me to the place whither I shall now go, and fear would have moved me to have put it out; then I weighed whether in good conscience, and the duty of a faithful subject, I might keep myself out of prison, and not warn my prince from walking in a dangerous course;

my conscience said unto me, that I could not be a faithful subject, if I did more respect to avoid my own danger than my prince's danger; herewithall I was made bold, and went forward as your honours heard: yet when I uttered these words in the house, that there was none without fault, no, not our noble queen; I paused, and beheld all your countenances, and saw plainly that those words did amaze you all. Then I was afraid with you for company, and fear bade me to put out those words that followed, for your countenances did assure me that not one of you would stay me of my journey; yet the consideration of a good conscience and of a faithful subject did make me bold to utter it in such sort as your honours heard. With this heart and mind I spake it, and I praise God for it; and if it were to do again, I would with the same mind speak it again.”—D'Ewes, 243. The man who could thus calmly resolve, and firmly act, was not likely to be terrified by the threatenings of the court. He speedily regained his liberty, and in successive parliaments showed himself the worthy predecessor of Hampden and Pym.

CHAPTER IX.

Publication of the Admonition to Parliament—The Authors of it imprisoned—Whitgift employed by the Archbishop to reply—His Answer—Formation of the first Presbyterian Church—Second Admonition published by Cartwright—Replies to Whitgift's Answer.

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Admonition
to parliament,
1572.

ALL hope of redress from the queen and bishops being now relinquished, the more zealous of the puritans resolved on an appeal to the judgment and conscience of the legislature. For this purpose they published a treatise entitled *An Admonition to the Parliament*; in which they set forth, with much warmth of feeling and strength of language, their objections to the hierarchy, and the wrongs they had endured from its officers. This publication marks an important era in the history of puritanism. "The hour for liberal concessions had been suffered to pass away; the archbishop's intolerant temper had taught men to question the authority that oppressed them, till the battle was no longer to be fought for a tippet and a surplice, but for the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy, interwoven as it was with the temporal constitution of England."² This

² Hallam, i. 252. The publication of this treatise may be regarded as one of the earliest steps

towards the union of the puritans and the patriots—the advocates of spiritual freedom and the de-

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treatise constituted an appeal from the queen and bishops to the representatives of the nation ;—an ominous step, which could not fail to excite the displeasure of the court. It avowed distinctly, and in no measured terms, unceasing hostility to the constitution of the church. Rejecting all disguise, it spoke out freely the language of strong conviction, tinctured with somewhat of that bitterness which has too generally characterized the controversies of the church. “Two treatises ye have here ensuing, beloved in Christ,” say the authors, “which ye must read without partiality or blind affection. For, otherwise, you shall neither see their meaning, nor refrain yourselves from rashly condemning of them without just cause. For, certain men there are of great countenance, which will not lightly like of them, because they principally concern their persons and unjust dealings; whose credit is great, and whose friends are many: we mean the lordly lords, archbishops, bishops, suffragans, deans, university doctors, and bachelors of divinity, archdeacons, chancellors, and the rest of that proud generation, whose kingdom must down, hold they never so hard; because their tyrannous lordship cannot stand with Christ’s kingdom. And it is the special mischief of our English church, and the chief cause of backwardness, and of all breach and dissension. For they whose authority is forbidden by Christ, will have their stroke without their fellow-servants; yea, though ungraciously, cruelly, and popelike, they take upon them to beat them, and that for their own childish articles, being

defenders of civil liberty. The close and faithful union of these two parties enabled them to check the despotism of Elizabeth, and utterly to overthrow that of the Stuarts.

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for the most part against the manifest truth of God.

First, by experience, their rigor hath too plainly appeared ever since their wicked reign, and specially for the space of these five or six years last.

. But, in a few words to say what we mean, either must we have a right ministry of God, and a right government of his church, according to the scripture, set up (both which we lack); or else there can be no right religion, nor yet for contempt thereof can God's plagues be from us any while deferred. And therefore, though they link in together, and slanderously charge poor men (whom they have made poor) with grievous faults, calling them puritans, worse than donatists, exasperating and setting on such as be in authority against them, having hitherto miserably handled them with revilings, deprivations, imprisonments, banishments, and such like extremities, yet is these poor men's cause never the worse, nor these challengers the better, nor God's hand the farther off to link in with his against them." ^a

The authors of the *Admonition* then proceed to lay down what they term "a true platform of a church reformed." "We in England," they say, "are so far off from having a church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are scarce come to the outward face of the same. For to speak of that wherein the best consent, and whereupon all good writers accord. The outward marks whereby a true christian church is known are, preaching of the word purely, ministering of the sacraments sincerely, and ecclesiastical discipline, which consisteth in admonition and cor-

^a Preface to the *Admonition*.

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recting of faults severely. Touching the first, namely, the ministry of the word, although it must be confessed that the substance of doctrine by many delivered is sound and good, yet herein it faileth, that neither the ministers thereof are according to God's word proved, elected, called, or ordained; nor the function in such sort so narrowly looked into, as of right it ought, and is of necessity required."b The ministry of the church is contrasted, in several particulars, with that of the apostolic age; and the parliament in conclusion is told, "The way to avoid these inconveniences, and to reform these deformities, is this: Your wisdoms have to remove advowsons, patronages, impropriations, and bishops' authority, claiming to themselves thereby right to ordain ministers, and to bring in the old and true election, which was accustomed to be made by the congregation. You must displace those ignorant and unable ministers already placed, and in their rooms appoint such as both can and will, by God's assistance, feed the flock. You must pluck down and utterly overthrow, without hope of restitution, the court of Faculties, from whence not only licenses to enjoy many benefices are obtained, as pluralities, trialities, totquots, &c.; but all things, for the most part, as in the court of Rome are set on sale, licenses to marry, to eat flesh in times prohibited, to live from benefices and charges, and a great number beside, of such like abominations. Appoint to every congregation a learned and diligent preacher. Remove homilies, articles, injunctions, and that prescript order of service made out of the mass-book. Take away the lordship, the loitering,

b Admonition, p. 1. Ed. 1617.

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the pomp, the idleness, and livings of bishops, but yet employ them to such ends as they were in the old church appointed for. Let a lawful and a godly seigniory look that they preach not quarterly, or monthly, but continually ; not for filthy lucre sake, but of a ready mind.”^c Objections are similarly urged against the discipline of the church, and its administration of the sacraments, and an earnest desire is expressed that they might plead their cause “by writing, or otherwise,” before her majesty. “If this,” say they, “cannot be obtained, we will, by God’s grace, address ourselves to defend his truth by suffering, and willingly lay our heads to the block. And this shall be our peace, to have quiet consciences with our God, whom we will abide for, with all patience, until he work our full deliverance.”^d

These extracts render it sufficiently evident that the whole ground of controversy between the bishops and the puritans had undergone an entire change. A few concessions at the commencement of the queen’s reign would have satisfied such men as Fox, Coverdale, and Humphrey ; but the battle was now to be fought on other ground, and for an object immeasurably more important. “Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us,” say the writers of the *Admonition*, “as they would bear the world in hand ; as for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice ; but for greater matters, concerning a true ministry and regiment of the church according to the word : which things once established, the other melt away of themselves. And yet consider, I pray you, whether their own argument doth not choke them-

^c *Admonition*, p. 3.^d *Ibid.*, p. 18.

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selves, for even the very name of trifles doth plainly declare that they ought not to be maintained in Christ's church. And what shall our bishops win by it? forsooth that they be maintainers of trifles, and trifling bishops, consuming the greatest part of their time in those trifles, whereas they should be better occupied. We strive for true religion and government of the church, and show you the right way to throw out antichrist, both head and tail, and that we will not so much as communicate with the tail of the beast. But they, after they have thrust out antichrist by the head, go about to pull him in again by the tail, cunningly colouring it lest any man should espy his footsteps, as Cacus did when he stole the oxen.”^e Letters from Beza and Gualter were appended to the *Admonition*, in which those eminent reformers express their regret at the imperfect reformation of the English church, and their sympathy with the puritans in their principles and sufferings. This book obtained a rapid and extensive circulation. Four editions were exhausted within a short period, though strenuous efforts were made to suppress it. The archbishop sent a copy to the lord treasurer, who, with other ecclesiastical commissioners, addressed letters to the lord mayor and some of the aldermen of London, urging them to discover the printer and corrector.^f Two divines, Field and Wilcox, who were principally concerned in drawing it up, were sent to Newgate, July 7, 1572, and on the following October, were indicted on the statute of uniformity, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.^g The archbishop sent Mr. Pearson,

The authors
committed to
prison.

^e *Admonition*, 18.

^f *Strype's Parker*, ii. 110.

^g *MS.*, p. 118. *Strype's Annals*,
ii. i. 275. The first *Admonition*

CHAP. Sept. 11, 1572, one of his chaplains, to confer with
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ELIZ. them, who, in the course of an amicable discussion, objected to the style of their writings, as partaking "rather of choler against some persons, than to seek a godly reformation." To this Mr. Field replied, "That thing specially toucheth me, and therefore I answer, as God hath his Moses, so he hath his Elijah. Isaiah calleth the rulers of his time, princes of Sodom. John calleth the scribes and Pharisees, generation of vipers. Christ calleth them adders' brood and an adulterous nation. And you know the scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, especially the prophets, are full of such vehemency. We have used gentle words too long, and we perceive they have done no good; the wound groweth desperate, and dead flesh hath overgrown all, and therefore the wound had need have a sharp corsive and eating plaister. It is no time to blanch, nor to sew cushions under men's elbows, or to flatter them in their sins; but God knoweth, we meant to

is frequently represented as the production of Cartwright; on what authority I do not know. Strype, in his *Life of Parker*, says, "Cartwright was the chief author, though there was (as it was thought) a club concerned in the composing of it."—ii. 110. His account of the matter in his *Life of Whitgift*, i. 55, is somewhat different, and is taken from Bancroft's *Survey of the pretended holy discipline*, who tells us, "After some time spent in these brawls, then they bethought them to fall more directly in hand with the *Generian discipline*. To this purpose certain persons assembled themselves privately together in London (as I have been informed), namely, Gilby, Sampson, Lever, Field, Wilcox, and I wot

not who besides. And then it was agreed upon (as it seemeth) that an admonition should be compiled, and offered unto the parliament approaching."—p. 42. Here is no mention of Cartwright, which, together with his absence at this time on the continent, and the fact of Field and Wilcox being punished as the authors, renders it all but certain that he had taken no part in its composition. Yet Mr. Hallam (*Con. Hist.*, i. 252), and others less distinguished for historical accuracy, speak of his authorship as certain. Mr. Neal, on the contrary, attributes it to Field and Wilcox, and says it was revised by several of the brethren.—*History of Puritans*, i. 231.

touch no man's person, but their places and abuses, which derogate from the truth."^h They addressed an elegant Latin letter to the lord treasurer Burleigh, in vindication of themselves, wherein they acknowledge, "That they had indeed lately writ a book, requiring the reformation of horrid abuses, with that intent, that sincere religion, being freed from popish superstition, might be restored by the whole parliament, with the queen's approbation. But by themselves, they attempted neither to correct nor change anything; but referred all to their judgments, according as so great a matter called for."ⁱ They also addressed the earl of Leicester, representing their poverty and sickness, complaining that they were detained beyond the term of their imprisonment, and praying him "for the tender mercies of God, in consideration of them, their poor wives and children, to be a means to the rest of the lords of her majesty's most honourable privy council, that they may be released and discharged."^j

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The archbishop and clergy, having secured the imprisonment of Field and Wilcox, were anxious to counteract the influence which so bold and uncompromising a publication as the *Admonition* might exert on the public mind. Dr. Whitgift, therefore, at the request of archbishop Parker, undertook a reply, to which such importance was attached that it was subjected to the revision of Parker, Cooper bishop of Lincoln, Perne of Ely, and other learned men, before it was printed.^k This was a legitimate means of defence, and had no other been employed, the proceedings of the archbishop and his

Whitgift
employed by
the Arch-
bishop to
reply to the
Admonition.

^h MS., p. 135.

ⁱ Annals, ii. i. 276.

^j MS., 118.

^k Strype's Whitgift, i. 85. Sir G. Paule's account is rendered somewhat amusing by the know-

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brethren would have been free from censure. Such a course would have accorded with their character as Christian teachers, and been best adapted to conciliate the esteem and confidence of the nation. But the bishops mistrusted their own cause, and were evidently galled by the weapons of their opponents. They therefore availed themselves of the magistrate's aid, and incarcerated their opponents before they confuted them.

Answer of
Whitgift.

The title of Whitgift's reply was "*An answer to a certain libell intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament.*" It contains the whole of the *Admonition*, which it answers paragraph by paragraph. It is addressed "To his loving nurse, the Christian church of England;" and is introduced by an exhortation to such as were in authority, which betrays the bad spirit of the controversialist, and the little confidence which Whitgift placed in the integrity and strength of his cause. The atrocities of Munster had invested the name of anabaptist with indescribable horror. Of this the polemic meanly takes advantage to prejudice his opponents in the estimation of the queen's government. "Considering," he says, "the strangeness of the time, the variety of men's minds, and the marvellous inclinations in the common sort of persons (especially where the gospel is most preached) to embrace new invented doctrines and opinions, though they tend to the

ledge we obtain from other sources, of the feelings of the archbishop and of his advocate. "Albeit," he says, "Dr. Whitgift considered that this libel (the *Admonition*) was unworthy of any serious confutation; yet in regard of the great applause it

found among the green heads of the university (who were greedy of novelties), and to stop the current of so dangerous positions, he spared not his pains in writing a learned answer."—*Life of Whitgift*, p. 19.

disturbing of the quiet state of the church, the dis-crediting and defacing of such as be in authority, and the maintaining of licentiousness and lewd liberty; I thought it good to set before your eyes the practices of the anabaptists, their conditions and qualities, the kind and manner of their beginnings and proceedings, before the broaching of their manifold and horrible heresies, to the intent that you, understanding the same, may the rather in time take heed to such as proceed in like manner; lest they, being suffered too long, burst out to work the same effect. I accuse none, only I suspect the authors of this admonition and their fautours. What cause I have to do so, I refer to yourselves to judge, after that I have set forth unto you the anabaptistical practices, even as I have learned in the writings of such famous and learned men as had themselves experience of them, when they first began in Germany."¹ There was a meanness in

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¹ Answer, p. 13. Ed. 1573. Referring to this part of Whitgift's treatise, Cartwright remarks, "It is more than I thought could have happened unto you, once to admit into your mind this opinion of anabaptism of your brethren, which have always had it in as great detestation as yourself, preached against it as much as yourself, hated of the followers and favourers as much as yourself. And it is yet more strange, that you have not doubted to give out such slanderous reports of them, but dared to present such accusations to the holy and sacred seat of justice, and thereby (as much as in you lieth) to corrupt it, and to call for the sword upon the innocent (which is given for their maintenance and safety), that, as it is a boldness intolerable, so could I hardly have thought that it could have fallen into any that

had carried but the countenance and name of a professor of the gospel, much less of a doctor of divinity. Before you will join with us in this cause, you will place us, whether we will or no, in the camp of the anabaptists; to the end you might thereby, both withdraw all from aiding us, which are godly minded, as for that you, fearing (as it seemeth) the insufficiency of your pen, might have the sword to supply your want other ways. And if we be found in their camp, or be such disturbers of the quiet estate of the church, defacers of such as be in authority, maintainers of licentiousness and lewd liberty (as you do seem to charge us with), we refuse not to go under those punishments that some of that wicked sect received for just recompence of their demerits. You say you will not accuse any;

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this attempt to draw down the suspicion of a jealous government on his opponents, from which an honourable mind would have shrunk. Field and Wilcox, the avowed authors of the *Admonition*, were now in prison. But Whitgift could laugh at their sufferings, and coolly express his regret at their not being more severe. "Touching the cruelty and rigor these men complain of," he says, "I shall need to speak little, being manifest to all that be not with sinister affections blinded, that lack of severity is the principal cause of their licentious liberty. But who seeth not their hypocrisy, which would make the world believe that they are persecuted, when they be with too much lenity punished for their intolerable contempt of good laws and other disordered dealings? Nay, such is their perverseness, or rather arrogancy, that if they be debarred but of the least part of their will and desire, by and by they cry out of cruelty and persecution. It is to be doubted what these men will do when persecution cometh indeed, which now make so much of a little, or rather of nothing."^m The man who thus wrote at the commencement of his career, could not fail to become an active and cruel persecutor by the time that he had attained the primacy of his church. Such was the case with Whitgift, and his name must, in consequence, go down to posterity dishonoured. The principles on which he and the authors of the *Admonition* reasoned were totally different. The puritans contended for a rigid adherence to the letter of apos-

I know it is for want of no good will that you do not accuse them, of whose condemnation and extreme punishment we might be

sure, if your hand were as strong as your heart."—Replie, p. 12.

^m Answer, p. 35.

tolie institutions and practice, while Whitgift maintained that a discretionary power was vested in the rulers of the church, to modify and regulate its ceremonies. The one appealed to the word of God, the other to the writings of the Fathers. The one required conformity to the example of the apostles; the other, obedience to the mandate of the prince.

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Another important step taken by the puritans this year, was the formation of the first English presbytery. This took place at Wandsworth, near London, "a place conveniently situate," says Heylin, "for the London brethren, as standing near the bank of the Thames, but four miles from the city, and more retired and out of sight than any of their own churches about the town."ⁿ Regulations were adopted, under the title of *The Order of Wandsworth*, elders were chosen, their offices defined, and the names of such as favoured the step were given in. The principal parties in this affair were Mr. Field, the lecturer of Wandsworth, Mr. Smith, of Mitcham, Mr. Crane, of Roehampton, and Mr. Wilcox; but others of considerable note soon joined them.^o They endeavoured to keep their meetings secret; but their number and frequency precluded the possibility of this, and soon exposed them to the vigilant rigor of the archbishop.

First Presbyterian Church
formed,
1572.

Cartwright, having now returned from the continent, visited his brethren in prison, and, undeterred by his past sufferings, and fearless of what yet

Second
Admonition
published by
Cartwright,

ⁿ History of the Presbyterians, p. 273.

^o Baneroft's Dangerous Positions, b. iii. c. i. Fuller, b. ix. p. 103. Neal, i. 243. Mr. Field being present at the formation of this society, it must have taken

place before July 7, as on that day he and Mr. Wilcox were committed to prison, where they were detained till the close of 1573 at the least.—Brook's Puritans, i. 322.

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awaited him, he speedily published the *Second Admonition*. Referring to the treatment which the authors of the first had experienced, he says, "The matters therein contained, how true soever they be, have found small favour. The persons that are thought to have made them, are laid in no worse prison than Newgate ; the men that set upon them are no worse than the bishops ; the name that goeth of them is no better than rebels ; and great words there are that their danger will yet prove greater." ^p

The work opens with an address "To the godly readers," in the course of which Cartwright thus vindicates himself and his brethren from the charge of writing with too much warmth. "Some men, and that good men too, will say, These treatises are too hot for this time. I wish to know wherein? Whether in the matters we handle, or in the handling of the matters? The matters are God's, wherein we may not mince him ; and the deformities have continued long, and are manifestly intolerable ! And yet, for as much as we hear they will answer us ; this I say, if they will keep them to the truth itself, the word of God, then will the matters shortly come to a good issue ; but if they draw us to other trials, there will prove craft in daubing, as they say ; for that hath been the craft of the papists, to rig up all corners, and to find all the shifts they can to have scope enough to vary a lie ; to say much, nothing to the proof, and yet to amaze the people with show of authority. But if they will answer us still with cruelty and persecution, we will keep ourselves out of their hands as long as God shall give us

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leave ; and content ourselves with patience, if God suffer us to fall into their hands ; and surely, we shall hardly escape them, if they and their doers, which be certain persecuting *printers*, may have their wills. And here humbly we beseech her majesty, not to be stirred against us by such men as will endeavour to bring us more into hatred, which will not care what to lay to our charge, so they may oppress us, and suppress the truth. They will say, we despise authority, and speak against her sovereignty ; but, O Lord, what will not envy say against the truth ? This is most true, that her majesty shall not find better subjects in her land than those that desire a right reformation ; whose goods, bodies, and lives are most assured to her majesty and to their country."

The impossibility of avoiding offence in the faithful discharge of ministerial duty is strikingly exhibited in the body of the treatise, "No preacher may, without great danger of the laws, utter all truth comprised in the book of God. It is so circumscribed, and wrapt within the compass of such statutes, such penalties, such injunctions, such advertisements, such articles, such canons, such sober caveats, and such manifold pamphlets, that, in a manner, it doth but peep out from behind the screen. The laws of the land, the Book of Common Prayer, the queen's injunctions, the commissioners' advertisements, the bishops' late canons, Lindwood's provincials, every bishop's articles in his diocese, my lord of Canterbury's sober caveats in his licenses to preachers, and his high court prerogative, or grave fatherly faculties ; these together, or the worst of them (as some of

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them be too bad), may not be broken or offended against, but with more danger than to offend against the Bible. To these, subscribing, and subscribing again, and the third subscribing, are required; for these, preachers and others are indicted, are fined, are imprisoned, are excommunicated, are banished, and have worse things threatened them; and the Bible—that must have no further scope than by these it is assigned! Is this to profess God's word? Is this a reformation? . . . We say, the Word is above the church (Eph. ii. 20), then, surely, it is above the English church, and above all these books before rehearsed. If it be so, why are they not overruled by it, and not it by them?"^q This *second Admonition* appeared before Whitgift's reply to the *first*, and was briefly noticed at the close of that treatise. "I have also received," says Whitgift, in a style of affected indifference, "a second Admonition to the parliament, the author whereof undertaketh to teach how to reform those things which the other Admonition found fault with. I shall not need to make any long discourse of it, neither will I. The answer to the first Admonition is an answer to this also."^r

^q Page 40.

^r Answer, 333. Referring to this brief notice of the *Second Admonition*, Cartwright says in his *Reply*, "Now by this slender answering of it, or rather not answering at all, but only asking how this and that is proved (whereas being proved, it is un-reproved of him), he doth his cause more harm than he is aware of. For unless his proofs be joined with his expulsions, imprisonments, and with all that racket which he maketh in Cambridge, to the uttermost of that his authority will stretch unto, he

may be well assured, that their driving out will draw in the truth, and their imprisonment will set the truth at greater liberty, and thereby prove itself to be neither papistry nor anabaptistry, donatist, catharism, nor any other heresy which are by due correction repressed. But as for the truth of God, the more it is laden, the straighter it standeth, and the more it is kept under, the more it enforceth itself to rise, and will undoubtedly get up, how great soever the stone be which is layed upon it."—Page 218.

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Cartwright's
reply to
Whitgift.

No sooner did Whitgift's *Answer* to the Admonition appear, than Cartwright commenced a reply, which he prepared with astonishing rapidity.* It is entitled "*A replye to an answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifte, against the Admonition to the Parliament.* By T. C.," and is without imprint of date and place, &c. It is introduced by an address "to the church of England, and all those that love the truth in it," wherein Cartwright replies to several general objections against his cause. To the charge of producing confusion and disorder he says, "Justice may be as well accused of doing wrong, as this doctrine for bringing in disorder, whose whole work is to provide that nothing be done out of place, out of time, or otherwise than the condition of every man's calling will bear. Which putteth the people in subjection under their governors; the governors in degree and order one under another, as the elder underneath the pastor, and the deacon underneath the elder; which teacheth that a particular church shall give place unto a provincial synod where many churches are, and the provincial to a national, and likewise that unto the general, if any be; and all unto Christ and his word. When on the contrary part, those which stand against this doctrine, are thereby compelled to bring into the church great confusion and marvellous disorder; whilst the

* He could not have commenced this *Reply* before November, 1572, for Strype tells us that Whitgift submitted a *written* copy of the first part of his *Answer* to Parker for his inspection on Sept. 21, and the second part on the 21st of the following month. — Strype's Whitgift, i. 85. It could not

therefore have been published before November, and probably not till later in the year. Cartwright's *Reply* must of course have been commenced subsequently to this, and was published before the 11th of June, 1573, it being referred to in a proclamation of that date. — Strype's Parker, ii. 256.

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pastor's office is confounded with the deacon's ; whilst women do minister the sacraments, which is lawful only for men ; whilst private men do that which belongeth unto public persons ; whilst public actions are done in private places ; whilst the church is shuffled with the commonwealth ; whilst civil matters are handled by ecclesiastical persons, and ecclesiastical by those which be civil ; and to be short, whilst no officer of the church keepeth his standing, and one member doth take upon it the office of another. Which things, as they hazard the harm, and destroy the body, so they do presently hinder, and will shortly (if remedy be not provided) utterly overthrow, the church. And therefore, unless good order be in that which was brought into the church by popery, and confusion in that which was left unto the church by the apostles ; and that it be order that public actions should be done in private places by private persons ; and by women that is appointed to be done by men, and confusion when the contrary is observed ; and finally, unless order have another definition or nature than hitherto hath been read or heard of, there is no cause why this doctrine, which containeth the discipline and government of the church, should be thus shamefully slandered with confusion and disorder."^t

Cartwright contends, in opposition to Whitgift, that the offices of archbishop and archdeacon are unlawful ; that the primitive bishop was an entirely different person from the bishop of the church of England ; that each church should have its eldership and possess the right of electing its minister ; that the scriptures furnished a model of church

^t Replie, p. 1.

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government; and that the commonwealth was to be moulded to the church, and not the church to the commonwealth. These views are urged with considerable force. It is evident, from the spirit of the treatise, that he was deeply interested in its composition. He writes like a man who had embarked all his interests in the cause which he defends, and who, instead of regretting the step, gloried in it as his highest honour, and the best proof of his fidelity to God. His ardour never cools, nor does his style become insipid or wearisome. His learning is displayed in admirable subserviency to his general purpose, while the severity of his logic enables him to unravel the sophistry, and triumphantly to refute the fallacious reasoning, of his opponent. He constantly appeals to the word of God as the only standard of Christian faith and practice. "The sum of all is," he says, "that the cause may be looked upon with a single eye, without all mist of partiality; may be heard with an indifferent ear, without the ware of prejudice; the arguments of both sides may be weighed, not with the changeable weights of custom, of time, of men, which, notwithstanding (popish excepted), shall be showed to be more for the cause than against it, but with the just balances of the incorruptible and unchangeable word of God."^u

The following is a fair sample of the manner in which he closely follows and ably refutes the reasoning of Whitgift, at the same time that it throws considerable light on the views which Cartwright entertained on one of the main points in controversy. "You give occasion of suspicion that

^u Replye, p. 7.

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your end will be scarce good, which have made so evil a beginning. For whereas you had gathered out of the Admonition, that nothing should be placed in the church but that God hath in his word commanded; as though the words were not plain enough, you will give them some light by your exposition. And what is it? You answer, that it is as much as though they would say, nothing is to be tolerated in the church of Christ, touching either doctrine, order, ceremonies, discipline, or government, except it be expressed in the word of God. Is this to interpret? Is it all one to say, nothing must be placed in the church, and nothing must be tolerated in the church. He hath but small judgment that cannot tell that certain things may be tolerated and borne with for a time, which, if they were to be set in and placed, could not be done without the great fault of them that should place them. Again, are these of like weight—except it be commanded in the word of God; and, except it be expressed in the word of God? Many things are both commanded and forbidden, of which there is no express mention in the word, which are as necessary to be followed or avoided as those whereof express mention is made. Therefore, unless your weights be truer, if I could let it, you should weigh none of my words. Hereupon you conclude that their arguments, taken *ab autoritate negativé*, prove nothing. When the question is of the authority of a man, indeed it neither holdeth affirmatively or negatively. For, as it is no good argument to say, It is not true, because Aristotle or Plato said it not; so is it not to say, It is true, because they said so. The reason whereof is, because the infirmity

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of man can neither attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might speak all things that are to be spoken of it, neither yet be free from error in those things which he speaketh or giveth out; and therefore this argument neither affirmatively nor negatively compelleth the hearer, but only induceth him to some liking or misliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an orator to persuade the simpler sort, than for a disputer to enforce him that is learned. But, forasmuch as the Lord God, determining to set before our eyes a perfect form of his church, is both able to do it and hath done it, a man may reason both ways necessarily. The Lord hath commanded it should be in his church; therefore it must. And of the other side, he hath not commanded; therefore it must not be. And it is not hard to show that the prophets have so reasoned negatively; as when, in the person of the Lord, the prophet saith, Whereof I have not spoken, and which never entered into my heart; and as where he condemneth them, because they have not asked counsel at the mouth of the Lord. And it is no small injury which you do unto the word of God, to pin it in so narrow room, as that it should be able to direct us but in the principal points of our religion; or as though the substance of religion, or some rude and unfashioned matter of building the church were uttered in them, and those things were left out, that should pertain to the form and fashion of it; or, as if there were in the scriptures only to cover the church's nakedness, and not also chains, and bracelets, and rings, and other jewels, to adorn her and set her out; or that, to conclude,

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her anger, but not to minister unto her a more

ELIZ. liberal and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. These things you seem to say, when you say, that matters necessary to salvation and of faith are contained in the scripture; especially when you oppose these things to ceremonies, order, discipline, and government. But to the end it may appear that this speech of yours doth something take up and shrink the arms of the scriptures, which otherwise are so long and large, I say that the word of God containeth the direction of all things pertaining to the church, yea, of whatsoever things can fall into any part of man's life. . . . Not that we say, as you charge us in these words, (that no ceremony, &c., may be in the church, except the same be expressed in the word of God) but that, in making orders and ceremonies of the church, it is not lawful to do what men list, but they are bound to follow the general rules of the scripture, that are given to be the square whereby those should be squared out. I will here set down, as those which I would have, as well all orders and ceremonies of the church framed by, as by the which I will be content that all those orders and ceremonies which are now in question, whether they be good and convenient or no, should be tried and examined by. And they are those rules which Paul gave in such cases as are not particularly mentioned of in scripture. The first, that they offend not any, especially the church of God. The second is (that which you cite also out of Paul), that all be done in order and comeliness. The third, that all be done to edifying. The last, that.

they be done to the glory of God. So that you see that those things which you reckon up, of the hour, and time, and day of prayer, &c., albeit they be not specified in the scripture, yet they are not left to any to order at their pleasure, or so that they be not against the word of God ; but even by and according to the word of God they must be established, and those alone to be taken which do agree best and nearest with these rules before recited. And so it is brought to pass (which you think a great absurdity) that all things in the church should be appointed according to the word of God. Whereby it likewise appeareth, that we deny not but certain things are left to the order of the church, because they are of the nature of those which are varied by times, places, persons, and other circumstances, and so could not at once be set down and established for ever ; and yet so left to the order of the church, as that it do nothing against the rules aforesaid. But how doth this follow : certain things are left to the order of the church ; therefore, to make a new ministry by making an archbishop, to alter the ministry that is appointed by making a bishop or a pastor without a church or flock, to make a deacon without appointing him his church whereof he is a deacon, and where he might exercise his charge of providing for the poor, to abrogate clean both name and office of the elder, with other more ; now I say, doth it follow, that, because the church hath power to order certain things, therefore it hath power to do so of these which God hath ordained and established ; of the which there is no time, nor place,

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nor person, nor any other circumstance, which can cause any alteration or change?"^v

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In answer to another of the arguments of Whitgift, Cartwright maintains the church's independency of the magistrate. This is one of his distinguishing doctrines, and, from its connexion with the history of ecclesiastical opinion, deserves to be prominently exhibited. "If there be," he says, "no churches established, because there are no christian magistrates, then the churches of the apostles were not established. And it is absurd to say, that the ministers now, with the help of the magistrate, can lay surer foundations of the church, or build more cunningly or substantially, than the apostles could, which were the master-builders of the church of God. And as for the consummation of the body of the church, and the beauty of it, seeing it consisteth in Jesus Christ, which is the head, that is always joined inseparably in all times of the cross, and not the cross with his body, which is the church; I cannot see why the churches under persecution should not be established, having both the foundation and the nethermost parts, as also the top and highest part of the church, as well as those which have a christian magistrate. If, indeed, the magistrate, whom God hath sanctified to be a nurse unto his church, were also the head of the same, then the church could not be established without the magistrate; but we learn that, although the godly magistrate be the head of the commonwealth, and a great ornament unto the church, yet he is but a member of the same. The church may be esta-

^v Replye, pp. 25—28.

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blished without the magistrate, and so, that all the world, and all the devils of hell, cannot shake it; but it cannot be in quiet, in peace, and in outward surety, without a godly magistrate. . . . Thereupon you conclude that the church was thus popular, which is as untrue as the former part. For the church is governed with that kind of government which the philosophers that write of the best commonwealths affirm to be the best. For in respect of Christ, the head, it is a monarchy; and in respect of the ancients and pastors, that govern in common, and with like authority amongst themselves, it is an aristocracy, or the rule of the best men; and in respect that the people are not secluded, but have their interest in church matters, it is a democracy, or popular estate.”^w

In a subsequent part of his treatise he is still more explicit; maintaining, not only the church's independency of the magistrate, but the magistrate's subjection to the church. His language is strong, and, even when coupled with and explained by other statements, must be censured as unscriptural and pernicious. One extreme generates another. The church of England was based on the submission of the ecclesiastical to the civil power. She was the creature of the state; drew her resources from its patronage, and lived on its favor. It was, therefore, no wonder that her ministers became the flatterers of their prince, and contended, with all the eagerness of a selfish and secular ambition, for the largest share of his bounty. The sycophancy of the clergy, and the consequent prostration of the church, drove Cartwright and his disciples to an

^w Reply, p. 51.

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opposite error, equally repugnant to the happiness of society, and the welfare of religion. "It is true," he says, "that we ought to be obedient unto the civil magistrate, which governeth the church of God in that office which is committed unto him, and according to that calling. But it must be remembered, that civil magistrates must govern it according to the rules of God prescribed in his word; and that, as they are nourishers, so they be servants, unto the church; and as they rule in the church, so they must remember to subject themselves unto the church; to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns, before the church; yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the church.* Wherein I mean not that the church doth either wring the sceptres out of princes' hands, or taketh their crowns from their heads, or that it requireth princes to lick the dust of her feet (as the pope under this pretence hath done); but I mean as the prophet meaneth, that whatsoever magnificence, or excellency, or pomp, is either in them or in their estates and commonwealth, which doth not

* Madox, in his *Vindication of the Church of England*, against Neal, p. 121, very unfairly terminates his quotation here; wholly omitting the explanatory clause which follows. Mr. Hallam, quoting from him, naturally exclaims: "It is difficult to believe that I am transcribing the words of a protestant writer; so much does this passage call to mind those tones of infatuated arrogance, which had been heard from the lips of Gregory VII., and of those who trod in his footsteps."—Const. Hist. i. 254.

Every ingenuous mind must

sympathize with this distinguished writer in the surprise and reprobation he here expresses; but his emotions would, probably, have been somewhat moderated had he been acquainted with the whole passage. I am far from justifying Cartwright's language. On the contrary, I believe it to be highly injudicious. But I am persuaded that, as quoted by bishop Madox, it makes an impression much stronger and more offensive than Cartwright contemplated, or than the whole passage justifies.

agree with the simplicity and (in the judgment of the world) poor and contemptible estate of the church, that that they will be content to lay down. And here cometh to my mind that wherewith the world is now deceived, and wherewith M. Doctor goeth about both to deceive himself and others too, in that he thinketh that the church must be framed according to the commonwealth, and the church government according to the civil government, which is as much to say, as if a man should fashion his house according to his hangings; when as indeed it is clean contrary, that as the hangings are made fit for the house, so the commonwealth must be made to agree with the church, and the government thereof with her government. For as the house is before the hangings, and therefore the hangings which come after must be framed to the house which was before; so the church being before there was any commonwealth, and the commonwealth coming after, must be fashioned and made suitable unto the church. Otherwise God is made to give place to men, heaven to earth, and religion is made (as it were) a rule of Lesbia, to be applied unto any estate of commonwealth whatsoever.”^y

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Had Cartwright contented himself with maintaining the independence of the church, he would have rendered an invaluable service to religion. Thus far he was authorized to go by the unalterable standard of Christian faith; and the working out of this principle would have entitled him to the gratitude and veneration of mankind. But it does not happen in the history of our species that all

^y Replye, p. 180.

CHAP. truth is comprehended by one mind, or that the
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whole field of undiscovered science is laid open and explored by one penetrating intellect. Luther left much to be discovered by the diligence of his disciples ; Cranmer's views were slowly formed, and at their best estate were, on some important points, obscure and imperfect ; and Cartwright, while he struggled for the church's freedom, pointed out to his successors the means by which they might detect his errors, and thus escape the perilous effects which would have flowed from their adoption. He set in a clear and forcible light the evils which resulted from the supremacy of the church being entrusted to political men. It was for his followers, amid their incredible sufferings, in the solitude and misery of their prison-houses, to learn the folly and the wickedness of calling on the magistrate to enforce the decisions of the church. The error of Cartwright, fearful as was its nature, was rendered comparatively harmless by the circumstances and experience of the age in which he lived. This pernicious dogma had been exhibited in all its enormity by the popedom. Europe had groaned for centuries beneath its influence, and yet exhibited melancholy proofs of its withering power and unheard-of abominations. It was not, therefore, probable, that a nation like England, in the first season of its liberty, should willingly return to bondage by again submitting itself to the yoke of priestly domination, from which it had just escaped, through the heroism and sufferings of its fathers. This would have evinced an unparalleled forgetfulness of the lessons of history, and been proof of a nature the most abject and base. The ignorance

and crimes of centuries had broken the charm of clerical sanctity. The records of the past were too explicit, and the testimony of eye-witnesses was too positive and clear, to allow the ministers of religion to be regarded with the superstitious reverence which was necessary to the general adoption of Cartwright's views. The false glory with which they had been encircled, had passed away before the scrutinizing eye of an inquiring age, and they were now known to be as peaceable as other men; as susceptible of the promptings of ambition, and the inflation of pride, as any of their compeers.

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Cartwright's defective acquaintance with the nature and grounds of religious liberty is apparent throughout his writings. He was the advocate of coercion in some cases, though opposed to it in his own. The following passage amongst many others is sufficiently explicit in the enunciation and approval of this unchristian practice. "But now I hear you ask me," he says, "what then shall become of the papists and atheists, if you will not have them be of the church? I answer, that they may be of and in the commonwealth, which neither may nor can be of nor in the church. And therefore, the church having nothing to do with such, the magistrate ought to see that they join to hear the sermons in the place where they are made, whether it be in those parishes where there is a church, and so preaching, or where else he shall think best; and cause them to be examined, how they profit; and if they profit not, to punish them; and as their contempt groweth, so to increase the punishment, until such times as they declare manifest tokens of unrepentantness;

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and then, as rotten members, that do not only no good nor service in the body, but also corrupt and infect others, cut them off. And if they do profit in hearing, then to be adjoined unto that church which is next the place of their dwelling.”^z

Such were the sentiments which, by a strange perversion of intellect, Cartwright advocated. Had they been uttered in the high places of the land, by those who inherited the emoluments and wielded the power of the church, little surprise would have been excited. But that the victim of protestant intolerance, while claiming liberty of worship for himself, should thus admit the very principle on which his own oppression might be justified, is a circumstance so abasing to the pride of our nature, as to awaken incredulity and regret. The evidence of the fact, however, is too conclusive to admit of doubt, and the only extenuation which can be urged is, that Cartwright’s early training in the school of intolerance had familiarized him with its principle, and rendered him insensible of its enormity. But the disciples of Parker and Whitgift are not entitled to glory over the puritan advocate, since their masters added to his theoretical error the sternness and ferocity of practised inquisitors.

^z Replye, p. 51.

CHAPTER X.

Proclamation against the Admonitions—Sandys complains to Burleigh of the Favour shown to the Puritans—Warrant issued for the Apprehension of Cartwright—Whitgift publishes a Defence of his Answer—Cartwright's Second Reply—Second Part of it—Subscription vigorously pressed—Suspension of Mr. Deering—Charges against him—Restored by the Council, but again removed at the Instigation of the Bishops—Imprisonment and Trial of Mr. Johnson—Dies in Prison—Queen's Proclamation to enforce Uniformity—Commissions issued—Council's Letter to the Bishops—Protestation of the Puritans.

WHATEVER inconsistencies were chargeable on CHAP. X.
Cartwright, his enemies dreaded the influence
of his writings. Instead of leaving him and his ELIZ.
opponent fairly to exhibit the strength of their respective systems, a proclamation was obtained from the queen against the two *Admonitions* and Cartwright's *Replie*, commanding, "Every printer, stationer, &c., who had in their custody any of the said books, to bring in the same to the bishop of the diocese, or to one of her highness's privy council, within twenty days after he shall have notice of this proclamation."^a

Proclamation
against the
Admonitions
and Replie,
June 11, 1573.

This measure was attended with very little success, for at the expiration of a month not a

^a Strype's Parker, ii. 256.

CHAP. single copy had been brought in to the bishop;
X. "though," says Strype, "one need not doubt there

ELIZ. were some thousands of them dispersed in the city and other parts of his diocese."^b Sandys, who had been mainly instrumental in procuring the proclamation, complained to the lord treasurer of the favour shown to Cartwright in the city, and urged the adoption of more vigorous measures against the puritan malcontents. "There is a conventicle, or rather a conspiracy," he tells his lordship, "breeding in London. Certain men of sundry callings are, as it were, in commission together, to procure hands for Mr. Cartwright's book, and promise to stand in defence thereof unto death. . . . If these seditious and tumultuous beginnings be not met withal in time, they will in short space grow to great inconvenience. The city will never be quiet, until these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the city. The people resort unto them, as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimage. If these idols, who are honoured for saints, and greatly enriched with gifts, were removed from hence, their honour would fall into the dust; and they would be taken for blocks, as they are. There be some aldermen, and some wealthy citizens, which give them great and stout countenances, and persuade what they can that others may do the like. A sharp letter from her majesty would cut the courage of these men. Her majesty's proclamation took none effect: not one book brought in. Mr. Cartwright is said to lie hid in London, with great resort to him. If the lord mayor,

Sandys to the lord treasurer, &c., complaining of the favour shown to Cartwright in the city.
Aug. 5, 1573.

^b Strype's Parker, ii. 257.

alderman Rivers, with others, had commission to search out these matters, they would frankly do it." ^c

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The malevolence of Cartwright's enemies was unsatisfied while he retained his liberty. It was not enough, in their estimation, to deprive him of his academical rank and emoluments, to banish him from the university, and to prohibit his writings as seditious and heretical, a warrant was now issued for his apprehension, signed by Sandys, the bishop of London, and eleven others of the high commission.^d But he happily escaped to the continent, where he remained for some years actively engaged in the service of religion.^e

Warrant for the apprehension of Cartwright.
Dec. 11, 1573.

Shortly after his departure, Whitgift published "*The Defense of the Answer to the Admonition against the Replie of T. C.*," a ponderous folio, containing upwards of eight hundred pages. It included the *Admonition*, Whitgift's *Answer*, and Cartwright's *Replie*, together with much additional matter. In the preface he states, "this replie of T. C. (which of some is counted so notable a piece of work) consisteth of two false principles and rotten pillars; whereof the one is, that we must of necessity have the same kind of government that

Whitgift's
Defence of his
Answer.

^c Strype's Whitgift, App. 16.

^d Annals, ii. i. 418.

^e Mr. Wilcocks, one of the authors of the *Admonition*, writing to Mr. Gilby, under date of Feb. 2, 1574, says, "Our brother Cartwright is escaped, God be praised, and departed this land, since my coming up to London, and I hope is by this time at Heidelberg. The Lord bless him, and direct him in

all things by his Holy Spirit, that he may do that which may serve for the advancement of his glory, and the profit of his church. His earnest desire is, that you and all the godly should remember him in your earnest and hearty prayers; therefore I the more boldly and willingly now make mention of him."—*Brook's Puritans*, ii. 193.

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was in the apostles' time, and is expressed in the scriptures, and no other ; the other is, that we may not in any wise, or in any consideration, retain in the church any thing that hath been abused under the pope : if these two posts be weak, yea rotten, (as I have proved them to be in this my Defense) then must the building of necessity fall.”^f

The spirit of the disputants was now inflamed ; and the controversy, therefore, assumed much of a personal character. Whitgift was galled by the acknowledged merit and extensive influence of his opponent's writings. It was evident to himself and his associates, that he made no progress in public favour. However he might be applauded by the archbishop and his brethren, the general verdict of his countrymen was against him. His powers were not equal to the struggle, and the cause he had undertaken consequently failed in his hand. His “ *Defense* ” displays a fretted temper, the chafed and ruffled spirit of an ambitious but disappointed man. He envied the popularity of Cartwright, while he reproached him with it. The latter, in his *Replie*, having remarked, “ Although you will grant us neither learning nor conscience, yet you might afford us so much wit as that we would not willingly and of purpose want those commodities of life, which we might otherwise enjoy as well as you, if we had that gift of conformity, which you have.” Whitgift tauntingly rejoined, “ What commodities you want, that I have, I cannot conjecture ; your meat and drink is provided with less trouble and charges unto you, and in more delicate and dainty manner, than mine is ; your ease and

^f Defense, Pref., p. 2.

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pleasure ten times more; you do what you list, go when you list, come when you list, speak when you list, at your pleasure. What would you have more? I know not why you should complain, except you be of the same disposition with the Franciscan friars, who, when they have filled their bellies at other men's tables, were wont to cry out, and say, *O quanta patimur*, &c. Some men are delighted to be fed at other men's tables, and prefer popular fame before silver and gold." ^g And in another place he says, "I muse with what face you can thus seek to deface true pastors that do good in the church, though not so much as you think they should do, seeing you yourself, and a number more, do no good at all in any place, but only range up and down, live at other men's tables, disturb the church, and think that you have done your duties when you have defaced all other men's doings. I am verily persuaded, that he which preacheth at his cure but one sermon in a year, offendeth God less than you do, that have forsaken your calling." ^h

These passages afford sufficient evidence of the total absence of all generous and noble sentiments from the breast of Whitgift. The man who could thus taunt a noble foe with the poverty, and consequent dependance, which his own oppressions had induced, must have possessed a mean and base spirit. Had his power been equal to his malignity, he would have driven his puritan antagonist from every refuge to which pity, respect, or affection had admitted him. He had succeeded in depriving him of his professorship, in expelling him from the university, and in forbidding him to exercise his

^g Defense, p. 283.

^h Ibid., 241.

CHAP. X. sacred calling; and now he upbraids him with his
 ——— silence, and basely reflects on his reception of the
 ELIZ. hospitalities which his virtues had insured.

Cartwright's
 Second "Re-
 plie."
 1575.

But Cartwright was not slow in replying to Whitgift's Defence.ⁱ His work was published in the following year, and was entitled, "*The Second Replie of Thomas Cartwright; against Maister Doctor Whitgift's Second Answere, Touching the Church Discipline.*" It is introduced by an epistle to the church of England, &c., in which he answers various personal charges, and reminds his accuser of his responsibility to God. "In the other part of my life," says Cartwright, "after he had thrust me out of the college, he accuseth me *for going up and down doing no good, and living at other men's tables.* That I was not idle, I suppose he knoweth too well: whether well occupied or no, let it be judged. I lived indeed at other men's tables, having no house nor wife of mine own; but not without their desire,

ⁱ It is strange that Fuller should represent the controversy as closing with the publication of Whitgift's "Defense." "Sundry reasons," he says, "are assigned of Mr. Cartwright's silence, all believing as they are affected, and most being affected as led by their interest. Some ascribed it to his *weakness*, who having spent all his powder and shot in former fights, was forced to be quiet for the future. Others, to his *pride* (undervaluing what he could not overcome), counting Whitgift's last answer no answer, but a repetition of what was confuted before. Others imputed it to his *patience*, seeing otherwise multiplying of *Replies* would make brawls infinite; and while women strive for the last *word*, men please themselves with the last *reason*. Others, to the *policy* of

that party, resolving to go a new way to work, and to turn their serious books into satirical pamphlets. Some few attributed it to Mr. Cartwright's modest respect to his adversary, who had gotten the upper ground of him (Whitgift being soon after made bishop and archbishop), though in my mind this would more heighten than abate their opposition."—Church Hist., b. ix. p. 103. Collier commits the same error, telling us that Cartwright "retired out of the field, and left the enemy possessed of all the marks of an entire victory."—Ch. Hist. ii. 537. Mr. Lawson, a worthy disciple of the Whitgift school, has displayed his laborious research and historical impartiality, by re-echoing this statement.—Life of Laud, V. i. p. 19.

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and with small delight of mine, for fear of evil tongues. And although I were not able to requite it, yet towards some I went about it, instructing their children partly in the principles of religion, partly in other learning.”^j

“My duty towards him,” he remarks in another place, “is accused diversely of unbrotherhood, unfaithfulness, want of good will; made heinous by circumstance of *perjury* and *unthankfulness*. Wherein I will not answer, that I used not you as master, because you used not me as fellow; but ask you, wherein this breach of duty consisteth? If I owe you fidelity, I owe it more unto the Lord; if good will, the truth must be preferred; if the master of Trinity College be a friend, the truth is more; if you a brother, the truth ought to be brother, sister, mother, and all. Against what part of true fidelity is it, to reprove him openly by writing, which had openly by writing spoken evil of that which I was and am persuaded to be the everlasting truth of God, and reviled those that maintained it? Against what point of good will, to have showed him the way, whom I judged to be out; to light him a candle, whom I saw in this point to grope in darkness? And if I did it sharper than your taste can like of, besides that bitter things are often wholesomer than sweet, you should not think much to be stricken with the back of the sword, which have smitten others with the edge; nor to be lightly pricked with some impair of your credit, which have thrust others through, in taking from them, so much as lay in you, all opinion both of godliness and learning. You doubt whether *I*

^j Second Replie, Ep. to the Church, p. 11.

CHAP. *meant good faith, when I called you a brother ; take*
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ELIZ. heed lest, in giving no credit unto others, you leave no place for others to give any unto you. And if I had offended in these, yet my unthankfulness cannot be great. You never gave me any thing in my bosom or secretly : what you have given by sound of trump and openly, cannot be hidden.”^k

Second part
of Cart-
wright's Se-
cond Replie.
1577.

The controversy was closed in 1577, by the publication of “*The Rest of the Second Replie of Thomas Cartwright, against,*”¹ &c. Paule tells us that Whitgift contemplated a reply, but “was by the advice of some (whose judgments he much esteemed) dissuaded from troubling himself in that which he had already overthrown. . . . Master Cartwright,” he adds, “after these controversies, thus begun and continued by himself, as you see, lived sometimes beyond the seas, now in one place, and then in another, without attaining any eminent or certain place in the commonwealth, save only the mastership of an hospital in Warwick. But Dr. Whitgift, having continued master of Trinity

^k Second Replie, Ep. p. 12.

¹ We have already seen that the grounds of the puritan controversy had undergone an entire revolution. The contest about *apparel* had been exchanged for others, affecting the constitution and offices of the church. Cartwright was of opinion that no minister should leave his charge on account of the *habits*. “As touching that point,” he says, “whether the minister should wear it, although it be inconvenient: the truth is, that I dare not be autor to any, to forsake his pastoral charge for the inconvenience thereof; considering that this charge, being an absolute commandment of the Lord, ought not

to be laid aside for a simple inconvenience, or uncomeliness of a thing, which in its own nature is indifferent. The offence, in occasioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickedness, is one of the foulest spots in the surplice, and which of all other can make it most detestable in the eyes of a godly minister. When it is laid in the scales, with the preaching of the word of God, which is so necessary for him that is called thereunto, that a woe hangeth on his head if he do not preach it; it is of less importance, than for the refusal of it, we should let go so necessary a duty.” —*Rest of Second Replie*, p. 262.

College ten years, and being twice vice-chancellor, was by her majesty preferred also to the deanery of Lincoln, which he held for the space of seven years.”^m

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During the period of this controversy, subscription was vigorously pressed by the bishops, and many excellent men were deprived. They were summoned before the council, or ecclesiastical commission, and were examined on various points touching their approval of the thirty-nine articles, and their conformity to the established ceremonies. The slightest suspicion of puritanism rendered them obnoxious to vexatious citations, which, taking them from their homes, exposed them to inquisitorial examinations, and subjected them to all the insolence and tyranny of inflated prelates. “The prosecution of the puritans,” says Strype, “went now vigorously forward, more than ever it had done, the queen being resolved to suppress them.” Many of the most eminent of their number were brought before the council; among whom were Deering, Wiborn, Johnson, Brown, Field, Wilcox, Sparrow, and King, of whom some were committed to prison, and were threatened with banishment. They were examined on the following points:

Subscription
vigorously
pressed.

I. Whether it be lawful for a private man openly to disapprove or condemn what is established by public authority, before showing the error of it by humble supplication.

II. Whether the book of service be good and godly, every tittle of it grounded on holy scripture.

III. Whether the book of articles be agreeable to God’s word.

^m Life of Whitgift, pp. 20—22.

CHAP. IV. Whether the example of the primitive
X. church must of necessity be followed.

ELIZ. V. Whether all ministers must be equal in their jurisdiction, as well as in the administration of the word and sacraments. ⁿ

Suspension of
Deering.

Mr. Deering, who had been domestic chaplain to the duke of Norfolk, was appointed lecturer at St. Paul's in 1572, where his talents as a public speaker drew large congregations. He was known to be favourable to the new platform of church government, and was therefore vigilantly watched by the bishop's emissaries. Being at length charged with the utterance of words reflecting on the magistrate, and tending to the disorder of the church, he was summoned before the council, and suspended from his ministry, though he positively denied the words charged upon him, and exonerated himself even in the estimation of the bishop. ^o He addressed an eloquent letter to the lord treasurer, in his own vindication, praying that his case might be fairly heard, and be early decided. "I ask no more," he says, "than what is due unto me, even from her majesty's seat of judgment and justice. If I have done evil, let me be punished; if not, let me be eased of undeserved blame. I crave no partiality; but I seek to answer, and to make you judges of my cause, before whose presence I ought to fear, and whose steps of their feet I do humbly reverence. . . . And because I will not appear to be led by fancy, I will be bold with you, as the man whom, above others of your calling, I am bound to honour, to show forth what is my opinion, and the reasons by which I am moved unto it. I

His letter to
Burleigh.
Nov. 1, 1573.

ⁿ Strype's Parker, ii. 238.

^o Strype's Annals, ii. i. 398.

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am thus persuaded: *The lordship or civil government of bishops is utterly unlawful.* My reason is this: the kingdom of Christ is only a spiritual government; but the government of the church is a part of the kingdom of Christ; and therefore the government of the church is only a *spiritual* government. What the kingdom is, and what government he hath established in it, learn not of me, but of God himself. The prophets do plentifully set it forth unto us. Isaiah saith, *He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, &c.* And by what authority shall the ministers strike with a sword, or with a sentence from a civil judgment-seat condemn the wicked? And what can be plainer than the words of Christ himself, *My kingdom is not of this world.* How plainly doth St. Paul say, *The weapons of our warfare, they are not carnal.* There are no chariots that go swift in victory as the word of truth; no terror in the world that so shaketh the bowels, and maketh the thoughts to tremble, as the sword of the Spirit. There is no sceptre that reacheth so wide a dominion as the law of the majesty of God; which is written in the hearts of all the world, and condemneth all flesh before the majesty of God. All other force is but little, and we may either withstand it or fly from it. But the power of the word is such as shall pass through all stops and hinderances. . . . My lord, seeing all men are subject before the minister, even as himself also is subject to the words of his mouth, what power, what authority, will you give unto him? Will you set him upon a seat of justice, and put a sword in his hand? Then bring the prince to plead her cause,

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ELIZ.

guilty or not guilty? Fie upon the pope, that hath so dishonoured God, and made the glory of his judgment-seat to be spotted in the countenance of a faint-hearted king. We will be no proctors for such an untimely fruit, that hath made princes bondmen, nobility thralldom, and himself a tyrant. Let us learn a better lesson of our Saviour Christ, *Date Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, et quæ sunt Dei, Deo*. The prince alone is the person in the world to whom God hath committed the seat of justice, and they only to execute the duty of it to whom it is committed. . . . The minister is appointed for another defence, where horsemen and chariots will do no good. They may hinder the minister, and make him forget his duty; they cannot profit him in his office and function. He must frame the heart, upon which you cannot set a crown; and edify the soul, which flesh and blood cannot hurt. He sealeth unto the conscience God's mercies, which are sweeter than life; and maketh rich the thoughts with righteousness and peace, which shall abide for ever. To those that are disobedient he pronounceth the judgment that maketh the heart afraid; and to the poor in spirit he bringeth comfort which no tongue can express. And to these things, what availeth either sword or spear? God asketh but a tongue that is prepared to speak; and he ministereth the power that is invisible." ^P

^P Annals, [ii. i. 400. I regret my inability to quote the whole of this admirable letter, which, for conclusiveness of reasoning, enlightened interpretation of scripture, ardent zeal for truth, and an easy, flowing, and elegant

style, is not surpassed by any production of the age. It may be seen entire in Strype. The difference between the primitive and the modern bishop is thus pointed out:

I. The bishops and ministers

On his appearance in the star chamber, Mr. Deering was accused of ‘speaking against god-fathers and godmothers; and that the statute of provision for the poor was no competent way devised for it; and that he could provide for the poor two ways; the one way, by committing them to the rich, to be kept; the other, *to what purpose is this superfluity?* and, *what do we with so much plate?* That he put off his cap, and said, Now I will prophesy, Matthew Parker is the last archbishop that ever shall sit in that seat. To which Mr. Cartwright should say, *Accipio omen.*”^q In reply to these charges he addressed a letter to the lords of the council, in which he triumphantly vindicates himself, and exposes the malice of his enemies.^r

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Charges against Deering in the star chamber.

In order to his restoration, however, the bishops required him to subscribe to the following articles:

I. I acknowledge the book of articles (agreed upon by the clergy in a synod, 1563, and confirmed

then were one in degree; now they are diverse.

II. There were many bishops in one town; now there is but one in a whole country.

III. No bishop’s authority was more than in one city: now it is in many shires.

IV. The bishops then used no bodily punishments: now they imprison, fine, &c.

V. Those bishops could not excommunicate or absolve of their own authority: now they may.

VI. Then, without consent, they could make no ministers: now they do.

VII. They could confirm no children in other parishes: they do now in many shires.

VIII. Then they had no living of the church, but only in one congregation: now they have.

IX. Then they had neither officials under them, nor commissaries, nor chancellors.

X. Then they dealt in no civil government by any established authority.

XI. Then they had no right in alienating any parsonage, to give it in lease.

XII. Then they had the church where they served the cure, even as those whom we call now *parish priests*, although they were metropolitans or archbishops.—Ibid., p. 411.

^q Ibid., p. 414.

^r Annals, vol. ii. App. 28.

CHAP. by the queen's majesty) to be sound, and according
X. ————— to the word of God.

ELIZ. II. The queen's majesty is the chief governor, next under Christ, of this church of England, as well in ecclesiastical as civil causes.

III. I acknowledge that in the book of common prayer is nothing evil, or repugnant to the word of God, but that it may be well used, in this our christian church of England.

IV. I acknowledge, that as the public preaching of the word in this church of England, is sound and sincere; so the public order in the ministration of the sacraments is consonant to the word of God.

To the second of these articles he offered unreservedly to subscribe; but respecting the others he entertained conscientious scruples, which he frankly states in his reply, and which he earnestly prays may be candidly construed. "See, I beseech you," he says, "what wrong I sustain, if I be urged unto it (subscription). While any law did bind me to wear cap and surplice, I did wear both. When I was at liberty, surely I would not wear it out of devotion. Since I never persuaded any man to refuse them, nor am charged that ever I preached against them. For the service-book, I preached not against it. I came to church to hear the prayers, and according to the book, I will and do willingly come to the Lord's supper. . . . In the mean season, if I be urged to subscribe, so far as I may, in respect of duty, I will earnestly crave that I be called to no further answer, than it may be proved I have openly dealt. Otherwise, if by authority I be charged to speak what I think, though I have no law to accuse myself, I will not

yet conceal any truth before a christian magistrate.”^s

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He was examined in the star chamber, on twenty other articles, “for more exact search and enquiry,” as Strype informs us, “into his principles and opinions concerning the church, and its usages, practices, and clergy, and concerning the queen’s authority.” Some of the questions proposed to him respected civil matters exclusively, while others were designed to place him in the awkward dilemma of expressing an approval of the entire constitution and ceremonial of the church, or of exposing himself to the charge and penalties of puritanism. The course pursued on these occasions was tyrannical in the extreme. Instead of proceeding on evidence fairly adduced, and well sustained, an embarrassing inquiry was instituted into the opinions entertained on multifarious points. An inquisitorial research was conducted into the secrets of the heart, from which it was hoped to draw out the latent heresy, and thus furnish ground for the infliction of ecclesiastical censures and of civil penalties.^t

The council at length restored him to his lectureship, which, however, he retained but for a short time.^u The bishops were too incensed at his case being taken out of their hands to allow him to

Restored by the Council, but again removed at the instigation of the bishops.

^s A Parte of a Register, pp. 81-85. Strype’s Annals, ii. i. 415.

^t “In general,” says Mr. Pierce, “all those articles seem to be put to wreck his conscience, and get somewhat out of him, to make him an offender by his own confession. For my part, when I consider the abominable tyranny of all such proceedings, and the barbarous wickedness of sifting

the secrets of men’s hearts, about matters of which perhaps they never spake any thing before; I heartily bless my God, that he did not cast my lot in such days, but preserved me for times of more equity and freedom.”—Vind., p. 81.

^u Strype attributes the removal of his suspension to the bishop of London, whom he represents

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remain unmolested. Cox wrote to the lord treasurer, complaining of the council having restored Deering without consulting the bishops, and intimated his inclination to address the queen on the subject.^v Parker and Sandys also entered their protest. "These proceedings" they say, "puff them (puritans) up with pride, make the people hate us, and magnify them with great triumphing, that her majesty and the privy council have good liking of this new building."^w Sandys also wrote to Burleigh and Leicester, urging his dislike of Deering's continuance, which these noblemen represented to the queen, and a warrant was consequently obtained from the council for his removal.^x Thus an estimable man was removed from a station for which he was eminently fitted, and in which he was accomplishing much good. The instruction of the ignorant, and the conversion of the irreligious, were esteemed as trifles in comparison with the church's uniformity. The number of preaching ministers at this time was very small ;

"out of his good nature" as interceding with the lord treasurer for his release. "He thought," says the historian, "a soft plaster better than a corrosive to be applied in this sort. That this man would be spared, but well schooled."—*Life of Parker*, ii. 265. I can scarcely credit the benevolence of Sandys' interposition in this case, as his subsequent conduct is incompatible with it. His treatment of Deering, when the latter called to inform him of his release, indicated irritation and anger. Strype impeaches the veracity of Deering in affirming that the council had given him letters restoring him to his lectureship. "Indeed," he says, "the council gave him no letters."—

Ibid., p. 270. Whereas he himself, within a few pages of this statement, adduces the testimony of Parker and Sandys to the fact. "We have sent unto you," say these dignitaries in a letter to one of their brethren, "certain articles taken out of Cartwright's book, by the council propounded unto Mr. Deering, with his answers to the same ; and also a copy of the council's letter writ to Mr. Deering, to restore him to his former reading and preaching, his answer notwithstanding, our advices never required thereunto."—*Ibid.*, p. 281.

^v *Ibid.*, p. 266.

^w *Ibid.*, p. 281.

^x *Ibid.*, p. 270.

yet the most laborious and successful were silenced, because they would not profess what their consciences condemned, or practise what they deemed unscriptural. The indifference thus displayed by the bishops of Elizabeth to the spiritual interests of men involves their character in doubt, and loads their memory with an odium which no ingenuity can remove.

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Imprison-
ment of Mr.
Johnson.

About the same time, Mr. Robert Johnson, domestic chaplain to the lord keeper Bacon, was tried at Westminster hall for nonconformity. In July, 1571, he had been cited before the archbishop, and the bishops of Ely and Winchester, at Lambeth, when, refusing to subscribe the three articles which were proposed to him, he was suspended from his ministry. He addressed an humble letter to the commissioners, stating his readiness to conform to the utmost possible extent that his conscience would permit, and earnestly praying to be restored to his former liberty.^y The result of this application is not reported; but in 1573 he was summoned before the bishop of Lincoln, and required to subscribe to the following articles. I. I am content hereafter, in mine open sermons and public preaching, to forbear to impugn the articles of religion agreed upon in the synod at London, 1562, or any of them. II. Neither will I speak against the state of the church of England, now allowed by the laws of this realm, nor against the Book of Common Prayer, nor anything contained therein. III. Neither will I sing or say, or cause, procure, or maintain any other to sing or say, any common or open prayer, or minister any sacrament, otherwise or in any other manner

^y Strype's Parker, ii. 69.

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further order be taken by public authority.

ELIZ. He refused to comply with the bishop's requisition, on the ground that it was necessary to prepare the people for further reformation; that liberty of speech was granted to those who approved the ceremonies; and that many errors were contained in the Book of Common Prayer.^z Shortly afterwards he was committed, with some others, to the Gatehouse, for nonconformity; whence he wrote to Sandys, charging him with the guilt of persecution, and admonishing him of its fearful punishment. "I will be bold," he says, "to utter my grief which I have conceived for you, in that you are, as it were, an instrument to persecute the lambs of Christ: not without cause do I say persecute, for you know that persecutors be not all of one sort, some being of the body, and some being of the mind, some of the goods, and some of the good name. Although, therefore, there be no death offered for these causes, yet there is persecution enough, and too much, for them; whilst some are imprisoned, and by that means lose not only their liberty, but are in danger of their lives, whilst they are compelled to remain in filthy and unclean places, more unwholesome than dunghills, more stinking than swine stews. Others are persecuted in mind, for that partly through extremity of law, partly by your plausible persuasions, they are enforced to subscribe to that whereat every good conscience may make stay, and every godly man doth disallow. And as for persecution in their goods, it needeth not to speak, since the spending of them

His letter to
Sandys,
Feb. 2, 1574.

^z Parte of a register, pp. 94—100.

followeth imprisonment ; and as for the good name of your brethren, the opprobrious terms of you and your colleagues in commission, as puritans, schismatics, rebels, and I wot not what, doth sufficiently testify. Wherefore, although it be no bloody persecution, yet it is both great and dangerous. I say it is great ; for if a man lose and spend his goods, it is somewhat ; if he forego his liberty, it is more ; if his good name and estimation be blemished, it is greater ; but to be grieved in mind, and disquieted in conscience, is the greatest of all, and so great that the most bloody and persecuting papists cannot hurt a Christian more. Therefore, take heed lest that you get the name of persecutors. Let not worldly policy prevail more than true divinity. Let not man cause you to do that which God forbiddeth. Let not the commission draw you further than God's word will suffer. Let not your honour here in earth cause you to do that which is against the honour of God. Let not your palace make you forget the heavenly palace, nor yet the temple of God here in earth You say you are our chief pastor, we desire some food ; you are our doctor, we desire to be taught. This way is best for us to be won, and for you to use. Laws and authorities of men must not outface the laws and authorities of God. Popish logic of slanders and imprisonment will not prevail. The syllogisms of the Fleet, and *enthimema* of the Gatehouse, an induction of Newgate, a *sorites* of the White Lion, and example of the King's Bench, will not serve. They hold neither *mood* nor *figure*. All the fallacies of logic and sophistry will not nor cannot darken the truth. Wherefore, chop nor change no

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CHAP. more with the word of God, but speak it and preach
X. it in sincerity, as in the sight of God.”^a

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Tried at
Westminster,
Feb. 20, 1574.

On the twentieth of the same month Mr. Johnson was tried at Westminster hall in the presence of the queen’s commissioners. He was accused of baptizing without the cross, of marrying without the *ring*, and on one occasion in the administration of the Lord’s supper, when compelled to send for more wine, of not repeating over it the words of consecration. To these charges he replied, “At no time in celebrating the communion have I omitted any prayer or words of institution which the order of the book prescribeth, but have used them in as full and ample manner as they are appointed; but sometimes upon occasion when wine failed I sent for more, which I delivered to the people with the words appointed in the book to be said at the delivery of the sacrament, not again repeating the words of institution, partly for that it being one entire action and one supper, the words of institution afore spoken were sufficient, as I do take it; and partly for that in the Book of Common Prayer there is no such order appointed. To the *second* I say thus: that indeed I did once or twice not use the ring; but after I was complained of to my ordinary, who reprehended me, I used the ring, as I have good and sufficient witness. To the third I answer, that I have omitted to make the sign of the cross, but not upon contempt; but seeing that I have already sustained seven weeks’ imprisonment, with the loss of my place and living, I beseech you be indifferent judges whether this be not sufficient

^a Parte of a Register, pp. 101—104.

punishment for so small a trespass.”^b His case was prejudged, and no defence therefore availed him. Convicted papists and notorious debauchees were brought forward as witnesses, on whose testimony he was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to one

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^b Parte of a Register, p. 105. The bishop of London, who was present as one of the commissioners, admitted the first two charges to “be but trifles, and matters of no weight,” but attached great importance to the other. Johnson was subjected to a severe examination by the bishop, the dean of Westminster, and others, in which he displayed considerable acuteness. A report of it was drawn up by Johnson himself, and is preserved in *A parte of a Register*. The following may be taken as a sample.

Dean. You lacked the word, therefore it was no sacrament.

Johnson. I had the word.

Bishop. How had you the word, when you confess that you recited not the institution?

Johnson. I had recited the institution afore, and that was sufficient.

Dean. Yea, for that bread and wine that was present; but when you did send for more bread and wine, you should have again rehearsed the words of institution.

Johnson. The book appointeth no such order.

Bishop. Yes, Sir, the book saith, you shall have then sufficient bread and wine, and then the prayer of the institution must be recited. Now, for as much as you had not sufficient, therefore you should have repeated the institution.

Johnson. There is no such *caveat* nor *proviso* appointed in the book.

Bishop. But that is the meaning of the book.

Johnson. Men may make what meaning they list, but I refer my-

self to the book, whether it be so appointed or no.

Dean. You are not forbidden in any place to use the repetition.

Johnson. Neither yet am I commanded.

Dean. Then the word is of no force.

Johnson. I say not so, for I confess the word to be necessary to the substance of a sacrament; but this is not the question between you and me, for we both confess this; but herein is the controversy, whether the institution is necessary to be repeated, seeing it is but one and the self same action, and the same communicants which were before, for whose sakes the words are uttered and spoken. If it had not been the same supper, or the communicants had been changed, then it had been necessary again to have rehearsed the institution.

Bishop. You like very well of yourself, and you are stubborn and arrogant. I have heard before of your stubborn heart, but now I do well perceive it.

Gerard. If thou wert well served, thou shouldst be used like a magician.

Lord Chief Justice. Sir, is this your glory and your pride, that you may come to talk thus before such an assembly? And I say to thee, thou art an arrogant and presumptuous fellow, and a seditious.

Johnson. Howsoever your judgment be, I stand or fall to my own Lord.

Bishop. You know not what harm you have done in defending an error before this company, to bring them in a doubt that they know not which way to take.

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Dies in
prison.

year's imprisonment.^c On the 7th of March he wrote to bishop Sandys, complaining of hard treatment, and entreating him to act the part of a Christian pastor. "I pray you," said the suffering and dying servant of God, "let us feel some of your charitable relief to sustain us and our families from danger of famine in this so hard a world; seeing as you have been the chief of my trouble, I desire you to be some part of my comfort. If you had not been at the first, I had escaped the prison. If your amplifications had not been at the last, I had not been condemned. Let pity requite spite, and mercy recompense malice."^d But these appeals were vain. The bishop's heart was steeled against them, and Johnson consequently remained to languish and die in prison. His case was recommended by the council to the merciful consideration of Sandys, in a letter dated May 16, 1574, wherein they represent him as very sick and likely to die, and commanded him to be permitted to remove to his own house on bail. But the bishop was inexorable, and Johnson speedily sunk into the grave.^e In the reign of Mary he would have closed his career at the stake; but in the protestant times of Elizabeth he was left to pine away in the cold and noxious atmosphere of a prison. In the one case he would have been ranked as a martyr; in the other, he is represented as a heretic,

Johnson. My lord, I defend no error, I maintain a truth.

Dean. Nay, you maintain a horrible heresy.

Bromley. Yea, if you were well served, you should try a fagot.

—p. 107-109. Such was the ungenerous and abusive treatment which the puritan confessors experienced: and yet their modern

libellers are bold enough to represent them as receiving nothing but offices of forbearance and kindness from their superiors, which they were too ungrateful to acknowledge, and too vulgar-minded to appreciate.

^c *Ibid.*, p. 111.

^d *Ibid.*, p. 118.

^e *Ibid.*, p. 111.

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and defamed as a disturber of the church of God. It requires, however, but little knowledge of human nature, to be assured that more strength of Christian principle was needed to meet death in the latter shape than in the former. Solitary and unfriended, with a wasting frame and an exhausted spirit, the puritan martyr had to meet the slow approach of the king of terrors. Had he in such circumstances yielded to temptation; had his instincts mastered his principles, and life been purchased by tampering with conscience, his weakness might have been pitied, as his guilt must have been condemned; but in erasing his name from the Christian brotherhood, every enlightened mind would have been indignant at his oppressions rather than astonished at his fall.

The queen's government was now determined to crush the puritans. A proclamation was accordingly issued, commanding all officers, civil and ecclesiastical, to put the act of uniformity in execution, "with all diligence and severity, neither favouring nor dissembling with one person or other." Any person who, by preaching or writing, spoke against the Book of Common Prayer, was to be imprisoned. Those who abstained from coming to church were to be punished "with more care and diligence than heretofore had been done;" and such as assembled in private houses, or used other rites than were prescribed, were to be "punished with all severity according to the laws of the realm."^f

Queen's proclamation to enforce Uniformity, Oct. 20, 1573.

This proclamation was followed by commissions to the bishops and other persons, to search after delinquents, and to punish them according as their judgments should dictate.^g

Commissions issued.

^f Styrpe's Parker, ii. 320. ^g Ibid., p. 322.

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Council's letter to the bishops,
Nov. 7, 1573.

A letter was also addressed by the council to the bishops, severely reflecting on them as the cause of the diversities which prevailed, charging them with being influenced in their proceedings by the love of money, and commanding them, either in person or by their officer, to see that no departure from the prescribed orders was practised in their dioceses. "The fault," say the council, "why such diversities have of late been taken up in many churches, and therefore contentions and unseemly disputations risen, in her highness's opinion, is most in you, to whom the special care of ecclesiastical matters doth appertain, and who have your visitations, episcopal and archidiaconal, and your synods and such other meetings of the clergy, first and chiefly ordained for that purpose, to keep all churches in your diocese in one uniform and godly order; which now is, as is commonly said, the more is the pity, to be only used of you and your officers to get money, or for some other purpose."^h

The work, however, did not proceed as vigorously as the queen and archbishop desired. Some of the commissioners were secret friends of the puritans, and others were disgusted with the occupation assigned them. Many of the courtiers were unfriendly to the clergy, and did not hesitate on some occasions publicly to express their sentiments. Parker endeavoured to quicken their diligence by addressing himself to their fears. "How secure soever the nobility were of these puritans," he said to lord Burleigh, "and countenanced them against the bishops, they themselves might rue it at last. And that all that these men tended towards was to the overthrow of all of honorable quality, and

^h Strype's Parker, ii. 345.

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the setting afoot a commonwealth.”ⁱ So unscrupulously did the wily prelate adapt his suggestions to the prejudices of his auditor. His skill would have been better employed in amending the vices of the clergy, and thus rendering them worthy of the esteem of their countrymen. They had much need of reformation, as Strype himself acknowledges. Speaking of the year 1572, he says, “Churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures; many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases and wastes of their woods, granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays, and were kept nasty and filthy and undecent for God’s worship. Among the laity there was little devotion. The Lord’s day greatly prophaned and little observed. The common prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathens and atheists. The queen’s own court a harbour for epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish.”^j But instead

ⁱ Strype’s Parker, ii. p. 323.

^j Ibid., 204. Strype attributes this state of things in a great measure to “these unhappy controversies about the churches government and other external matters in religion.” Had he inverted his position he would have been much nearer the truth. The secularity of the clergy led them to contend for the rites of a church in whose pomp and wealth they shared, and it became at length so glaring as to disgust the laity with religion itself. It was this state of things which gave birth to puritanism, and which favoured its sub-

sequent growth. “I could rehearse by name,” says a puritan sufferer, about the year 1570, “a bishop’s boy, ruffianly both in behaviour and apparel, at every word swearing and staring, having ecclesiastical promotions—a worthy prebend, no doubt. I could name whoremongers being taken, and also confessing their lechery, and yet both enjoying their livings, and also having their mouths open, and not stopped nor forbidden to preach. I know also some that have said mass diverse years since it was prohibited, and upon their examination confessed

CHAP. of correcting these enormous evils, Parker was
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ELIZ. chiefly occupied in the persecution of brethren more scrupulous than himself, by which he disgusted the better part of the community, and spread dissatisfaction through the nation. "I understand," he wrote to Burleigh, "how throughout all the realm, among such as profess themselves protestants, the matter is taken; they (puritans) rightly justified, and we (commissioners) judged to be extreme persecutors."^k And no marvel that such was the case, for never did Romish priests proceed in the work of persecution with greater promptitude or apparent pleasure than he and his associates. No means were left untried which promised to overcome the scruples or to bend the indomitable spirits of the puritans. A vigilant eye was kept on all their movements, and the full weight of episcopal authority, clothed with the additional sanction of an ecclesiastical commission, or of the privy council, stood perpetually ready to repress their efforts and to punish their zeal. The archbishop and some of his brethren held stated meetings at Lambeth, to consult on the affairs of the church, where, if we may judge from subsequent events, they formed the resolution of employing more decided and rigorous measures. Their fears were evidently aroused by the increasing numbers and activity of the puritans. Nor were they unmindful of the patrimony of the church, as is evident from a letter which Parker and Sandys addressed to an absent bishop. "In

the same, and yet are in quiet possession of their ecclesiastical promotions. I know double benefited men that do nothing else but eat, drink, sleep, play at dice, cards, tables, bowls, and read

service in the church; but these infect not their flocks with false doctrine, for they teach nothing at all."—*Parte of a Register*, p. 8.

^k Parker, ii. 192.

the platform set down," they say, "by these new builders, we evidently see the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ, and a popular state to be sought. The end will be ruin to religion, and confusion to our country."¹

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The puritans were now in the habit of meeting privately for worship, and are represented as requiring the following protestation from those who were admitted to their assemblies.

Protestation
of the Puri-
tans.

"Being thoroughly persuaded in my conscience, by the working and by the word of the Almighty, that these relics of antichrist be abominable before the Lord our God; and also for that by the power, mercy, strength, and goodness of the Lord our God only, I am escaped from the filthiness and pollutions of these detestable traditions, through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and last of all, inasmuch as by the working also of the Lord Jesus and his Holy Spirit, I have joined, in prayer and hearing God's word, with those that have not yielded to this idolatrous trash, notwithstanding the danger for not coming to my parish church, &c.; therefore I come not back again to the preaching, &c. of them that have received these marks of the Romish beast." Nine reasons are then given for their refusing to join in the worship of the established church, when they add, "Moreover, I have now joined myself to the church of Christ; wherein I have yielded myself subject to the discipline of God's word, as I promised at my baptism. Which if I should now again forsake, and join myself with their traditions, I should forsake the union wherein I am knit to the body of

¹ Strype's Parker, ii. 281.

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Christ, and join myself to the discipline of anti-christ. For in the church of the traditioners there is no other discipline than that which hath been maintained by the antichristian pope of Rome, whereby the church of God hath been afflicted, and is until this day. For the which cause I refuse them.”^m

^m Collier, ii. 544. Strype’s Parker, ii. 283. Parker has appended to a copy of this declaration, the following statement. “To this protestation the congregation singularly did swear, and after took the communion for

ratification of their assent.” To what credit this report is entitled, it is impossible now to say. Its improbability is so great that other testimony than that of the archbishop must be adduced to command our belief.

CHAPTER XI.

Form of Subscription—Suppression of Prophesyings in Norwich—Meetings in Cambridgeshire suspected—Death and Character of Parker—Persecution of Dutch Baptists—Fox's Letter to the Queen—Elevation of Grindal—Commanded to suppress the Prophesyings—His Letter to the Queen in their Defence—His Sequestration.

SUBSCRIPTION was now vigorously pressed throughout the country. The bishops were determined to purge the church of all nonconforming ministers, and therefore cited such of the clergy as they suspected to appear before them. The form of subscription varied in different dioceses, but the following was most generally adopted.

“I promise unfeignedly by these presents, subscribed with my hand, that I shall endeavour, myself, so far as God's grace shall assist me, and my talent committed unto me of God shall enable me, to teach the word of God soberly, sincerely, and truly, according to the form of doctrine established in this realm, and without odious invectives and indiscreet discourses, by name, or by plain circumstances, to defame any person. And that I shall not stir or continue any unprofitable contentions in doctrine. I shall not impugn the state of religion received, nor dissuade any man from the rites and

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ceremonies thereof; but shall refer all alterations therein to the wisdom of public authority to take order in the same. I shall also in mine exhortations and sermons, spend so the time I have to speak, that I partly set forth the truth of wholesome doctrine, partly confute errors contrary to the same, and partly to spend most of my labour to exhort mine auditory to the good fruits of godly conversation. I shall not suffer any person to use my license of preaching by raizing the name or abusing the seal. And shall also deliver up my license, being so required thereunto by that authority from whence I had it.

“1. I acknowledge the Book of Articles agreed upon by the clergy of this realm, in a synod holden 1563, and confirmed by the queen’s majesty, to be sound and according to the word of God.

“2. The queen’s majesty is the chief governor next under Christ, of this church of England, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil causes.

“3. I acknowledge that in the Book of Common Prayer there is nothing evil or repugnant to the word of God, but that it may be well used in this our christian church of England.

“4. I acknowledge that as the public preaching of the word in this church of England is sound and sincere, so the public order of administration of sacraments is consonant to the word of God.

“And whereas I have, in public prayer and administration of sacraments, neglected and omitted the order by public authority set down, following mine own fantasy in altering, adding, or omitting of the same, not using such rites as by law and order are appointed; I acknowledge my fault therein, and

am sorry for it, and humbly pray pardon for that disorder. And here I do submit myself to order and rites set down. And I do promise that I will from henceforth, in public prayer and ministration of sacraments, use and observe the same; the which thing I do presently and willingly testify with the subscription of mine own hand.”^a

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A different form was devised for the laity, many of whom experienced rigorous and cruel treatment.^o The commissioners before whom they appeared were strangely indignant at their assuming the right of judging for themselves, and required from them an implicit assent to what their superiors taught; but the freedom which the puritans now exercised in religious investigations had engendered a spirit which no threatenings could appal or rigor subdue.^p

^a MS., 200.

^o The form of subscription devised for the laity included the second, third, and fourth of the articles to which the clergy subscribed, and substituted the following for their confession of ecclesiastical transgressions. “And whereas I have absented myself from my parish church, and have refused to join with the congregation in public prayer, and in the receiving of the sacrament, according to the public order set down, and my duty in that behalf, I am right sorry for it, and pray that this my fault may be pardoned; and do promise that from henceforth I will frequent my parish church, join with the congregation there as well in prayer as in the use of the sacraments, even according to such order as by public authority is set down and established. And to witness this my subscription and promise, I do willingly subscribe my name.”—MS., p. 201.

^p An example of this is supplied in the case of Mr. White, a citizen of London. He had been fined, and sent from one prison to another, for not frequenting his parish church. He was treated with most offensive rudeness and gross brutality at his appearance before the commissioners, Jan. 18, 1573, as the following examination will show. His examiners were the lord chief justice, the master of the rolls, the master of the requests, Mr. Gerard, the dean of Westminster, the sheriff of London, and the clerk of the peace. On his introduction, he was thus addressed:—

Lord Chief Justice. Who is this?

White. White, and please your honor.

Lord Chief Justice. White, as black as the devil!

White. Not so, my lord; one of God's children.

Lord Chief Justice. Why will you not come to your parish church?

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Puritanism extended on every hand. It grew with the piety of the nation, and trained up those master

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White. My lord, it is my desire to frequent the places of preaching and prayer: neither did I refuse my parish church, for I did not only frequent the same, but also procured diverse godly men there to preach; and as I said when I was last before you, since my last troubles about these matters, I was never absent from my parish church, being at home, in health, and at liberty.

Mr. Gerard. You have not usually frequented your own parish.

White. I grant I have more used other places, where I was better edified.

Gerard. Will you come to your parish to hear prayer, though there be no preaching?

White. I crave the liberty of a subject; and if I do not publicly use both preaching, prayer, and sacraments, and behave myself as a Christian, deal with me accordingly.

Master of the Rolls. Nay, you must answer yea or no.

White. You know my mind. I would avoid those things which be a grief to me, an offence to others, and the only disturbance of the quiet state of our church.

Dean of Westminster. What one thing can you find fault with in the common book?

White. Let them answer that to whom it more appertaineth, for being in prison almost a whole year about these matters, I was, notwithstanding, upon a statute touching that book indicted, and before I came to liberty, almost outlawed.

Lord Chief Justice. Thou art a contemptuous fellow, and wilt obey no laws.

White. Not so, my lord; I do and will obey laws, and therefore refusing but a ceremony of conscience, and not refusing the penalty for the same, I rest still a true subject.

Lord Chief Justice. The queen majesty was evil overseen that you were not made of council, how to make laws and orders for religion.

White. Not so, my lord; I am to obey laws and orders warranted by God's word.

Lord Chief Justice. Do the queen's laws command anything against God's word?

White. I do not say so, my lord.

Lord Chief Justice. Yes, marry do you; and there I will hold you, by your leave.

White. Only God and his laws be absolute and perfect; all men and their laws may err.

Lord Chief Justice. This is one of Shaw's darlings; I will tell thee what, I will not speak anything of affection, for I know thee not, saving by this occasion; thou art the wickedest and the most contemptuous person that came before me since I sat in this commission.

White. Not so, my lord; my conscience doth witness with me otherwise.

Master of the Requests. What if the queen should command to wear a grey frize gown, would you come to the church then?

White. That were more tolerable than that God's ministers should wear the habit of his enemy.

Lord Chief Justice. How if she should command to wear a fool's coat and a cock's comb?

White. That were very unseemly, my lord, for God's ministers.

Dean of Westminster. You will not be obedient to the queen's proceedings.

White. I am and will be obedient.

Lord Chief Justice. Yea, you say so; but how are you obedient when you will not do that she commandeth?

White. I have said I would

spirits who were speedily to act so distinguished a part as the advocates of liberty and the friends of mankind.

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avoid only those things which have no warrant in God's word, and are either condemned or written against by the best reformed churches. Neither are they within the compass of St. Paul's rule, to serve for order, peace, comeliness, and edification, but the flat contrary.

Lord Chief Justice. He would have no laws.

White. If there were no laws, I hope I would live like a Christian.

Lord Chief Justice. Thou art a rebel.

White. Not so, my lord; a true subject.

Lord Chief Justice. Yea, I swear by God, thou art a very rebel, for I see thou wouldest draw thy sword, and lift up thy hand, and wouldest arise to rebel against thy prince, if time served.

White. My lord, I thank God, my heart standeth right toward God and my prince, and God will not condemn, though your honor hath so judged.

Lord Chief Justice. Take him away.

White. I would speak a word, which I am sure will offend, and yet I must speak it. I heard the name of God taken in vain: if I had done it, it had been a greater offence than that I stand here for.

Gerard. White, White, you do not behave yourself well.

White. I crave your worship, show me wherein, and I will crave pardon and amend it.

Lord Chief Justice. I may swear in a matter of charity.

White. There is now no such occasion. . . . But forasmuch as I am so charged, and that it is bruited that at my last being before you I did deny the supremacy of my prince, I desire your honors and worships, with all that be present, to bear witness that I acknowledge her majesty

the chief governor next under Christ, over all persons and causes within her dominions, and to this I will subscribe. . . . I acknowledge the substance of doctrine and sacraments to be sound and sincere; and so I do of rites and ceremonies, as they agree with the word of God.

Lord Chief Justice. The best in England shall understand of you. Take him away.

White. My lord, I would to the Lord Jesus my committing to prison these two years might procure these matters to be indifferently conferred upon and decided by God's word, and the judgment of other reformed churches.

Lord Chief Justice. You shall be committed, I warrant you.

White. I pray you, my lord, let me have justice. I am, as I have said, unjustly presented, and I know the jury did not so present me, but that it is done by the malice of some; wherefore I desire to have a copy thereof.

Lord Chief Justice. You shall have your head from your shoulders; have him to the Gate-house.

White. I pray you commit me to some prison in London, that I may be near my house.

Lord Chief Justice. No, sir, you shall go thither.

White. I have paid fines and fees in other prisons; send me not where I shall pay the like again.

Lord Chief Justice. Yes, marry shall you; that is your glory.

White. I desire no such glory.

Lord Chief Justice. It will cost you twenty pounds, I warrant you, before you come out.

White. God's will be done.

"Thus," says this persecuted man, "I was had to the Gate-house, Jan. 18, 1573."—MS., p. 176—178.

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Suppression
of prophesy-
ings in the
diocese of
Norwich.
1574.

The meetings of the clergy for mutual instruction in divine knowledge now became an object of suspicion to the archbishop. They were termed *prophesyings*, and had commenced in 1571. It was customary, in many parts of the country, for the ministers of a district to meet together once a fortnight, for the right interpretation of scripture. The manner of conducting these exercises at Northampton is thus described by Strype. "Certain of the ministers who were appointed (discoursing orderly one after another) handled some text (given, as it seems, by the bishop), opening the same plainly and briefly before the people; and all to be despatched by eleven of the clock. Then (the congregation dismissed) the ministers did withdraw into some convenient place, and there conferred among themselves, as well touching doctrine as good life and manners, and other orders meet for them to observe."

"After the consultation, any of the brethren might propound their doubts and questions collected out of that place of scripture that day expounded, and signify the same unto the president and the other brethren, and declare the same in writing unto the first speaker. And order was taken for the satisfying of the said question at the next exercise.

"The consultation to be ended with some short exhortation to move each one to go forward in his holy office, to apply his study, and increase in godliness. The exercise finished, the next speaker was nominated publicly; and the text he should expound read. If any presumed to break these orders and rules, and seemed to be contentious, the president was presently to command him, in the name of

God, to silence. And after the exercise, the unadvised person to be censured by the brethren.”^a

Notwithstanding the benefits which accrued to the church from these exercises, they were represented to the queen as engendering a spirit of inquiry hostile to the church, and favourable to puritanism. An order was therefore obtained for their suppression, which Parker forwarded to the bishop of Norwich, requiring him immediately to see it executed. Parkhurst, deeply regretting this step, wrote to the archbishop, signifying his opinion “that the prophesyings had, and still did, bring singular benefit to the church of God, as well in the clergy as the laity ; and it was a right necessary exercise to be continued, so the same was not abused, as indeed it had not been, unless in one or two places at the most.”^r He wrote also to some of the privy council, from whom he obtained a letter countermanding the archbishop’s directions, and requiring him to uphold the meetings of the clergy.^s But Parker was not to be diverted from his purpose. The queen was his friend, and Parkhurst was consequently compelled reluctantly to issue an order for the suppression of these meetings throughout his diocese. They were continued, however, in other parts of the country, and were found eminently useful to the protestant cause.^t

^a Strype’s Grindal, p. 261. Annals, ii. i. 472. Fuller’s Church Hist., b. ix. p. 121.

^r Strype’s Parker, ii. 359.

^s Ibid., 360. Annals, ii. i. 477.

^t Parkhurst died this year, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was favorable to the puritans, and uniformly averse from the

severe measures adopted against them. In answer to the archbishop, who had reproved him for his lenity, he once observed, “What I am, and what my doings are, cannot be hid ; and therefore I do refer myself to the reports, not of any one, but of all severally. This I find, by good proof, that

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Religious
meetings in
Cambridge-
shire sus-
pected.
1574.

The same jealous intolerance which led to the suppression of *prophesyings*, induced the archbishop to interfere with the meetings of some pious persons in Cambridgeshire and Essex. They were accustomed, on holydays, when relieved from their ordinary occupations, to meet for the reading of the scriptures, "thinking thereby to spend their time better than others, or themselves before had done, when it was taken up in playing at cards, dice, and tables, or sitting at alehouses." But such meetings were uncanonical, and fraught, in the suspicious judgment of the archbishop, with the elements of discord and confusion. Dr. Pern was therefore commissioned to investigate the matter, the result of whose inquiries was a triumphant vindication of the accused parties.^u So vigilant was Parker in enforcing his ecclesiastical system, that not the slightest movement could take place in any part of the country without engaging his immediate attention.

Death and
character of
Parker.

But the archbishop was now approaching to the termination of his career. The bitterness of his zeal, however, was undiminished. One of his last public acts was the visitation of the diocese of Winchester, particularly of the Isle of Wight, which gave rise to general complaint, and was censured even by the queen.^v The fretfulness of age had probably soured his temper, and given an unexampled severity to his proceedings. He died

the rough and austere manner of ruling doth the least good; and on the other part, the contrary hath and doth daily reclaim and win diverse. And therefore do I choose rather to continue my accustomed and natural form and

manner, which I know how it hath and doth work, than with others, by rigor and extremity, to overrule," &c.—*Annals*, ii. i. 509.

^u Strype's Parker, ii. 381. *Annals*, ii. i. 556.

^v Parker, ii. 423. App. 99.

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May 17, 1575, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was attached to the study of ecclesiastical antiquities, to which he did much service, and which now constitutes his chief praise. As primate of the church of England, he committed a capital error in not availing himself of the influence of his station to heal the divisions which early ensued. It was in his power greatly to have diminished, if not entirely to have prevented, them. A secession must ultimately have taken place from a church which retained so many of the corruptions of the papacy; yet it might have been averted by moderate counsels. But the rigidity of Parker's temper aggravated the wound he should have healed, and thus entailed on his successors the necessity of measures whose cruelty has stamped them with indelible infamy. He was a severe churchman, whose notions of religion were restricted to the maintenance of its forms. Mistrusting the stability of his church, he was perpetually alarmed for its safety, and unscrupulously employed in its support every means which force or fraud could supply. The least deviation from the ordinary routine of religious services awakened his suspicions and fears. The simplest and most fervent piety failed to secure his complacency, unless it were clothed in the habiliments which authority had sanctioned, and expressed itself in language borrowed from the offices of his church. That men were advancing in conformity to God, and in benevolence towards their species, failed to interest his mind, if the slightest taint of puritanism were suspected, or the least irregularity in religious services were known.

"He was a *Parker* indeed," says Fuller, in his

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quaint style, "careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of *discipline* against all such *night stealers* as would invade the same."^w Placed in a station of commanding influence, he prostituted his power to the support of the queen's prerogative and the maintenance of ecclesiastical uniformity. To this he sacrificed the higher purposes of his vocation, and set an example of servility in the state, and of despotism in the church, which Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud fatally imitated. He had refused submission to the pope, yet he claimed it from others, and enforced the demand with a hard-heartedness which penury and weeping innocence could not move. Nor can it be justly pleaded in his defence that his course was shaped by the commands of the queen and her council. In a few instances this might have been the case, but in general it was otherwise. He was Elizabeth's principal adviser in ecclesiastical affairs. She relied on his churchmanship, and found him ever ready to execute her severest edicts. He rarely, if ever, manifested sorrow when employed as the minister of her wrath; though his joy knew no bounds when he was sanctioned by her authority to execute the persecuting code which he had mainly contributed to form. "On the review of his whole behaviour," says Mr. Hallam, "he must be reckoned, and always has been reckoned, the most severe disciplinarian of Elizabeth's first hierarchy; though more violent men came afterwards."^x Yet it is due to the memory of Parker to observe, that the errors of his administration, serious and criminal as they were, sprung naturally out of the system

^w Church Hist., ix, 103.^x Const. Hist., i, 244.

he represented. The reformed church of England was unsound at heart. It had its origin in force, it was shaped and moulded by human laws, and could only be maintained by the exercise of an authority unsanctioned by the word of God. It was based on principles subversive of human rights, and could not fail to involve its supporters in measures which reason condemns, and which revelation represents as destructive of those graces with which God seeks to embellish the human soul. In no situation, probably, would Parker have engaged the attachment of his contemporaries; his disposition was too austere, and his temper too rough, to allow of this: but in other circumstances, and with different connexions, he might have avoided the oppressions which now constitute his disgrace, and which will hand down his name to the latest posterity, as a persecutor of the saints of God.

The fierceness of ecclesiastical intolerance was severely felt at this time by some Dutch baptists, who had been driven to England by the atrocities of D'Alva, the Spanish general. So early as 1568, they had engaged the attention of the bishops, who obtained a proclamation from the queen directing a severe visitation to be made throughout London, and ordering all persons "that have conceived any manner of such heretical opinions, as the Anabaptists do hold, and meaneth not by charitable teaching to be reconciled, to depart out of this realm within twenty days, upon pain of forfeiture of all their goods, and to be imprisoned and further punished." ^y This proclamation does not appear to have had its intended effect, for the

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Persecution
of Dutch bap-
tists.^y Strype's Grindal, p. 181. Parker, i. 521.

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sectaries rapidly increased. A short time prior to the death of Parker a congregation of them was discovered in Aldgate, London, twenty-seven of whom were committed to prison. A commission was granted to the bishop of London, assisted by others, "to confer with the accused, and to proceed judicially if the case so required." Four of them, having recanted, were released, after bearing lighted fagots at St. Paul's cross. Several others were condemned, most of whom were banished, but two were reserved to endure the extreme penalty of the law.^z

John Fox's
letter to the
queen on their
behalf.

1575.

John Fox, the martyrologist, whom Elizabeth, notwithstanding his puritanism, was accustomed to call "my father Fox," was alone found to interpose on behalf of these despised and hated sectaries. He addressed an eloquent letter to the queen, in which he pleads for their lives in a strain of earnest and impassioned supplication. "To roast the living bodies of unhappy men," he says, "who

^z Fuller's Church Hist. ix. 104. Mackintosh's England, iii. 168. The form of recantation employed in this case was the following: "Whereas we, being seduced by the devil, the spirit of error, and by false teachers, have fallen into those most detestable and damnable errors, that Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin Mary; that the infants of the faithful ought not to be baptized; that a christian man may not be a magistrate, or bear the sword and office of authority; and that it is not lawful for a christian man to take an oath. Now, by the grace of God, and by the assistance of good and learned ministers of Christ's church, I understand the same to be most damna-

ble and detestable heresies, and do ask God, before his church, mercy for my said former errors, and do forsake, recant, and renounce them; and I abjure them from the bottom of my heart, protesting I certainly believe the contrary. And further, I confess, that the whole doctrine established and published in the church of England, and also that is received in the Dutch church in London, is found true and according to God's word; whereunto in all things I submit myself, and will be most gladly a member of the said Dutch church; from henceforth utterly abandoning and forsaking all and every Anabaptistical error."

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err rather through blindness of judgment than perverseness of will, in fire and flames, raging with pitch and brimstone, is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the Romanists, than the custom of the gospellers. I do not speak these things because I am pleased with their wickedness, or favour thus the errors of any men; but seeing I myself am a man, I must favour the life of man; not that he should err, but that he might repent. Wherefore, if I may be so bold, I humbly beg of your royal highness, for the sake of Christ, who was consecrated to suffer for the lives of many, this favour at my request, which even the divine clemency would engage you to, that if it may be (and what cannot your authority do in such cases?) these unhappy men may be spared. There are excommunications and imprisonments; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment; burning of the hand; whipping; or even slavery. This one thing I most earnestly beg; that the piles and flames of Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not be revived. But, if I may not obtain this, I pray with the greatest earnestness, that out of your great pity, you would grant us a month or two, in which we may try whether the Lord will grant that they may turn from their dangerous errors, lest with the destruction of their bodies, their souls be in danger of eternal ruin.”^a But the queen was inexorable; the

^a Fuller, ix. 104. “All his topics,” says Sir James Mackintosh, referring to this letter, “are not indeed consistent with the true principles of religious liberty. But they were more likely to soften the antipathy of his con-

temporaries, and to win the assent of his sovereign, than bolder propositions; they form a wide step towards liberty of conscience. Had the excellent writer possessed the power of showing mercy, and once tasted the sweet-

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writ *de heretico comburendo* was issued, and John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort expired at the stake in Smithfield, July 22, 1575.^b This was the first example during this reign of capital punishment for religious errors. All parties at the time concurred in its approval, though an enlightened posterity now regrets its occurrence as an indelible blot on the English reformation.

Elevation of
Grindal to the
archbishopric
of Canterbury
1575-6.

Parker was succeeded by Grindal, who had been successively bishop of London and archbishop of York. He had been an exile for religion during the reign of Mary; and on his return, hesitated to accept the bishopric of London, on account of the ceremonies and habits. He was at first favourable to the puritans. So long as their objections were confined to the ceremonial of the church, he esteemed them as brethren, who should be treated with kindness, and won by conciliation; but when they proceeded to impugn the constitution of the hierarchy, and to denounce the episcopal order, Grindal withdrew from them his favour, and spoke of them with an asperity foreign from his natural disposition. His temper inclined him to moderate counsels, and his religious principles were too strong to permit him to yield an unreserved submission to the queen's commands. He soon had reason to repent his elevation to the primacy.

Commanded
to suppress
the prophesy-
ings.

The immediate occasion of his incurring the queen's displeasure, was the patronage he extended to the *prophesyings* of the clergy. These meetings, though suppressed in Norfolk, and in other parts of

ness of exercising it towards deluded fanatics, he must doubtless have been attracted to the prac-

tice of unbounded toleration."—
Hist. of Eng., iii. 170.

^b Strype's Annals, ii. i. 564.

the country, were continued in some districts, and the new archbishop was desirous of employing them for the instruction of an ignorant clergy. In order to guard against possible evils, he drew up regulations for their management, by which he hoped to obviate the objections of his sovereign.^c

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But the queen was intractable. Parker had poisoned her mind by his suggestions, and she therefore required Grindal to put down these exercises. He urged their necessity to qualify the clergy to preach; but she insisted that preachers were too numerous already, "urging," says Strype, "that it was good for the church to have few preachers, and that three or four might suffice for a country; and that the reading of the homilies to the people was enough."^d The archbishop was deeply affected by the determination of the queen, yet resolved to act worthy of his character and station, whatever might be the result. His conscience protested against compliance, and he honorably abided by its decision. He addressed a long letter to the queen, ably advocating the importance of a preaching ministry, and the continuance of the prophesyings.

His letter to
the queen in
their defence.
Dec. 20, 1576.

"For my own part," he says, "because I am very well assured, both by reason and arguments, taken out of the holy scriptures, and by experience (the most certain seal of sure knowledge), that the said exercises, for the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures, and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to increase knowledge among the ministers, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers, I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess, that I can-

^c Strype's Grindal, p. 327.

^d Ibid., 329.

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not with a safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises: much less can I send out my injunctions for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, *I have no power to destroy, but only to edify*; and with the same apostle, *I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth*. If it be your majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your majesty that I received of the same. Bear with me, I beseech you, madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God." In concluding his letter, he entreated two things of the queen; first, to refer all matters pertaining to the doctrine and discipline of the church to the bishops and other divines; and secondly, "when," to use his own words, "you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the church of Christ, which is his spouse, bought with so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex autoritate*, as ye may do in civil and extern matters; but always remember that in God's causes, the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place. It is the anti-christian voice of the pope, *Sic volo, sic jubeo; stet pro ratione voluntas*. Wherefore I do beseech you, madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious causes, set the majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside; determine with yourself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him,

Non mea, sed tua voluntas fiat. God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years ; beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy, but give God the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, first, to the goodness of the cause ye have set forth ; I mean, Christ's true religion ; and, secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the godly in their fervent prayer to God for you ; which have hitherto, as it were, tied and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved.”^e

These were sentiments worthy of a christian pastor, and their faithful utterance on this occasion serves to redeem Grindal from the reproach of having previously complied with the arbitrary commands of the queen. He had gone further, it is probable, in compliance with her dictates, than his judgment sanctioned ; but he was now to learn the folly of looking for the favor of princes, unless prepared unscrupulously to execute their pleasure. Elizabeth was incensed at the honesty of her primate, and threatened to suspend him ; but Grindal's resolution was not to be shaken. He persisted in his refusal to issue an order for the suppression of the prophesyings ; in consequence of which, the queen sent letters to the several bishops, commanding them immediately to put them down.^f The archbishop was confined to his house and sequestered for six months ; at the expiration of which period,

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May, 1577.

^e Strype's Grindal, Appen. ix. Fuller assigns this letter to the year 1580, in which he is shown

to be incorrect by Strype.—Ibid., p. 332.

^f Strype's Grindal, p. 342.

CHAP. refusing to make the submission which was re-
 XI. quired of him, his sequestration was continued.^g

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^g Strype's Grindal, p. 343. At this period, Burleigh, who well knew his sovereign's temper, sent a friendly communication to Grindal informing him of the course which the lords of the star chamber would pursue, and suggesting to him the best way to effect his reconciliation with the queen. "Concerning his offence to her majesty," said this wary and sagacious politician, "if he forbear the particular recital of his fault with the circumstances,

he may, with the better estimation, and less burden to his conscience, use a more general speech to acknowledge his fault, and to cry pardon. For which purpose his grace may say, that he is very sorry that he hath in this sort offended her majesty, as he is charged; and that he requireth her majesty to pardon him; and not to interpret his doing to have been with any meaning to offend her majesty."—*Ibid.*, 348.

CHAPTER XII.

The new Bishops more hostile to the Puritans than their Predecessors— Examination of Mr. Merbury—Petition from Cornwdll to Parliament—Petition from London—Publication of the Gaping Gulf—Robert Brown—His Apprehension—Principles—Parliament of 1581—Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in Obedience—Act against seditious Libels—A view of Antichrist in the English Church—Ecclesiastical Arrangements of the Puritans.

THE persecution of the puritans continued without abatement, notwithstanding the sequestration of Grindal. As the first bishops of this reign, some of whom favoured the puritans, and endeavoured to shield them from the rigors of the law, were removed by death, others occupied their place, of severer principles, and of less tolerant disposition. Parkhurst was succeeded by Dr. Freke, a fit instrument for an arbitrary court; and Pilkington was followed in the see of Durham by Dr. Barnes, who soon complained of the laxity of his predecessor, and endeavoured to enforce the very letter of conformity. Ready instruments were therefore found in most parts of the country to carry on the work of persecution, who were not checked in their career by the remembrance of former friendship, or the sympathies of religious feeling. The elevation of Grindal, and his subsequent sequestration, did not,

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The new bishops more zealous against the puritans than their predecessors.

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therefore, bring such relief to the puritans as might have been expected. Though he did not direct the machinery of persecution with the same inflexibility of purpose as his predecessor, he was compelled to be a party to transactions which his better judgment must have censured. The new bishop of Norwich signalized his zeal in his primary visitation, by suspending a considerable number of the nonconforming ministers.^h Sandys also, in the archbishopric of York, forgot the moderation of his better days, in an attempt to purge his province of puritanism; while Aylmer, his successor in the see of London, emulated the bigotry and intolerance of his catholic predecessors. Five times in one year he summoned his clergy to appear before him, that he might narrowly inspect their conduct, and prescribe them such rules as his own judgment, or that of his superiors, dictated. He was the most active member of the ecclesiastical commission, and complained to the lord-treasurer of the want of zealous co-operation on the part of his lay associates.ⁱ He

^h Strype's Annals, ii. ii. 59. Parte of a Register, p. 393. "We dare not yield to these ceremonies," say several of the Norfolk ministers, in a supplication which they presented to the council, "because, so far from edifying and building up the church, they have rent it asunder, and torn it in pieces, to its great misery and ruin, as God knoweth; although her majesty be incensed against us, as if we would obey no laws, we take the Lord of heaven and earth to witness, that we acknowledge, from the bottom of our hearts, her majesty to be our lawful queen, placed over us by God for our good; and we give God our most humble and hearty

thanks for her happy government; and both in public and private, we constantly pray for her prosperity. We renounce all foreign power, and acknowledge her majesty's supremacy to be lawful and just. We detest all error and heresy. Yet we desire that her majesty will not think us disobedient, seeing we suffer ourselves to be displaced, rather than yield to some things required. Our bodies, and goods, and all we have, are in her majesty's hands; only our souls we reserve to our God, who alone is able to save us or condemn us."—MS., p. 253.

ⁱ Strype's Aylmer, pp. 42, 60. "The bishop," says Strype, "was

represented himself as hated like a dog, and as called *the oppressor of the children of God*, a character to which his proceedings prove that he was well entitled.^j He was accustomed to employ the most virulent and abusive language to the puritan clergy.

When Mr. Merbury, one of the ministers of Northampton, appeared before him and other com-

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Examination
of Mr. Mer-
bury before
the bishop of
London.
Nov. 5, 1578.

as little liked of the puritans. For as he roundly executed his office in reclaiming or suppressing them, they spared not to defame and show their ill will to him."—*Ibid.*, 39. Aylmer had not always advocated the temporal dignity and wealth of the clergy. Before his own and his brethren's elevation he could declaim against these things with all the warmth and passion of Knox himself. That reformer, during the reign of Mary, had published a work, entitled, *A Blast against the Government of Women*; wherein he vehemently contended against the lawfulness of devolving regal authority on a female. On the accession of Elizabeth, his fellow-exiles were apprehensive that she might be prejudiced against them by this publication, and Aylmer was therefore employed to reply to it. This he did in a treatise printed at Strasburgh, 1559, under the title of *An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjects, against the late blowne Blaste concerning the Government of Women*, &c. The popish bishops were now in possession of the emoluments of the church, and the protestant exiles had not been corrupted by the influx of wealth and the exercise of power. The future bishop of London could therefore advocate the alienation of ecclesiastical property to civil purposes, without dreaming that he was guilty of impiety and sacrilege. "Come off, ye bishops," he says, "away

with your superfluities, and yield up your thousands: be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priest-like, not prince-like. Let the queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain these wars which you procured, and your mistress left her embroiled in; and with the rest to build and found schools throughout the realm; that every parish church may have his preacher, every city his superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously: which will never be unless your lands be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feed and fat but one. Remember that Abimelech, when David in his banishment would have dined with him, kept such hospitality, that he had no bread in his house to give him but the show-bread. Where was all his superfluity to keep your pretended hospitality? For that is the cause that you allege, why you must have thousands, as though you were commanded to keep hospitality rather with a thousand than with a hundred."—*Ibid.*, p. 148. This passage was objected to Aylmer, when he became bishop of London, and an oppressor of the ministers of God; but he coolly replied, "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I thought as a child."—*Ibid.*, p. 177.

^j *Ibid.*, 62.

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missioners at St. Paul's, the following dialogue took place, which formed part of a conference, as disgraceful to the bishop as it must have been irritating to the estimable man whom he oppressed.

Bishop. Thou speakest of making ministers; the bishop of Peterborough was never more overseen in his life, than when he admitted thee to be a preacher in Northampton.

Merbury. Like enough so, (in some sense) I pray God those scales may fall from his eyes.

B. Thou art a very ass; thou art mad; thou art courageous; nay, thou art impudent: by my troth I think he be mad, he careth for nobody.

M. Sir, I take exception against swearing judges; I praise God I am not mad, but sorry to see you so out of temper.

B. Did you ever hear one more impudent?

M. It is not (I trust) impudence to answer for myself.

B. Nay, I know thou art courageous, thou art fool-hardy.

M. Though I fear not you, yet I fear the Lord.

B. Thou takest upon thee to be a preacher, but there is nothing in thee. Thou art a very ass, an idiot, and a fool.

M. I humbly beseech you, Sir, have patience; give this people better example. I am that I am, through the Lord. I submit the trial of my sufficiency to the judgment of the learned; but this wandering speech is not logical.

B. This fellow would have a preacher in every parish church.

M. So would St. Paul.

B. Where wouldest thou have them ?

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M. In Cambridge, in Oxford, in the inns of court, yea, and some in prison, if there wanted more; we doing our part, the Lord would do his.

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B. I thought where thou wouldest be; but where is the living for them ?

M. A man might cut a good large thong out of your hide and the rest, and it would not be missed.

B. *Perge mentire.* Thou shalt dispose of our livings orderly.

M. It is more than you can do yourselves. If living be the default, they are to blame which have too much; whatever is the cause, the church feeleth the smart.

B. Thou art an overthwart, proud puritan knave; thou wilt go to Northampton, and thou wilt have thine own saying to die, but thou shalt repent it.

M. I am no puritan; I beseech you be good to me: I have been twice in prison, but I know not why.

B. Where was he before ?

Keeper of the Gate-house. With me, my lord.

B. Have him to the Marshalsea, there he shall cope with the papists.

M. I am to go whither it pleaseth God, but remember God's judgments: you do me open wrong, I pray God forgive you. ^k

^k A Parte of a Register, pp. 381—386. Such was the conduct of some of the bishops, whom party writers represent as patterns of meekness and forbearance. Had the language of Aylmer been employed by a puritan, it would have been denounced in no measured terms by a class of writers who distort history to

serve a party purpose. That the language of the puritans to their superiors was sometimes disrespectful and abusive, must be admitted; but the treatment they received constitutes an extenuation which no honest mind will overlook. Their enemies transgressed without excuse, while they were provoked by oppres-

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A vast number of the most zealous and laborious of the clergy were thus silenced at the very time when the increased activity of popish emissaries rendered their services peculiarly necessary. The dignitaries of the church were perpetually declaiming against popery, and exaggerating the danger of its increase. From session to session they invoked the legislature to pass persecuting laws for its suppression, and endeavoured to possess the queen's council with apprehensions of its growth. And yet, as if to stultify themselves, and to expose their church to the utmost peril, they silenced and drove from her altars many of the most devoted protestants in the land. Under the pretence of uniformity, they did the work of their catholic opponents; and were only saved from the consequences of their own folly by the heroic fortitude and religious eminence of the men whom they oppressed. Many of the conforming clergy were papists, of whom we are informed by a writer of that age, that they "subscribed and observed the order of service, wore a side-gown, a square cap, a cope, and surplice. They would run into corners, and say to the people, Believe not this new doctrine, it is naught; it will not long endure; although I use order among them outwardly, my heart and profession is from them, agreeing with the mother-church of Rome. No, no; we do not preach, nor yet teach openly. We

sions which might have made a wise man mad. None of them exceeded Aylmer in the bitterness and virulence of their style, as his language respecting the French king will show. "He," says the bishop, "was a king or a devil, a christian or a lucifer. . . . Oh!

wicked caitiff, and firebrand of hell, which, for increasing the pomp and vain glory which he shall not long enjoy, will betray Christ and his cross to his mortal enemy."—*Strype's Aylmer*, page 183.

read their new devised homilies for a colour, to satisfy the time for a season.”¹ Many of the churches were entirely destitute of ministers, and some large districts were sunk into a state of almost heathen ignorance.

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In a supplication from the people of Cornwall to the parliament, the petitioners say : We are in one of the farthest parts of this land, above the number of fourscore and ten thousand souls, which for want of the word are in extreme misery ; for the preaching of the gospel being the beauty of Christ’s spouse, we want the same, and are therefore so far from that beauty and comfort, wherewith God’s church and children are adorned, and do delight in, that we, as men starved and pined with the famine of the word, are as if we were not. And this is neither for want of maintenance nor of place, for, beside the impropriations in our shire, we do allow yearly above nine thousand and two hundred pounds, and we have about eightscore churches. The greatest part of which maintenance and places is received and supplied by men, which, through their ignorance and negligence, are guilty of the sin of sins, namely, of the sin of soul murder. Some of them are gamesters, as well on the Sabbath as other days ; some are fornicators, some adulterers, some felons, bearing the marks in their hands for the same offence. Another part of the maintenance and places (which we take not fully to be the seventh part) is in the hand of preachers ; but they are of sundry sorts. Some are non-residents, some have diverse benefices, some preach but quarter sermons ; so that, between spring and spring, pas-

Petition from
Cornwall to
parliament.¹ Strype’s Annals, ii. i. 145.

CHAP. ture and pasture, meal and meal, the silly sheep
XII. may starve. Some drunkards, some quarrellers,

ELIZ. some spotted with whoredom, and some with more loathsome and abominable crimes than these. A third sort of ministers we have which do teach truly, labour painfully and faithfully in the Lord's husbandry, and watch diligently over the Lord's heritage. Yet these men are not suffered to attend their calling, for the mouths of the superstitious papists, of the godless atheists, of the filthy livers, are open against them; and the ears of them that are called lords over them, are sooner open to their accusations (though they be but for ceremonies) than to the others' answers. Neither is it safe for us to go to hear them; for though our own pastures and fountains are withered and dried up, yet if we seek for the bread and water of life elsewhere, we are cited to appear in their courts, where we are taunted, checked, reviled, and threatened with excommunications, so that we are worse dealt with than those most miserable men deal with their beasts; for they will neither feed us at home, nor suffer us to seek for food elsewhere.^m

Petition from
London.

Even in London there was so great a scarcity of preaching ministers, as to justify the following language in a petition addressed about this time to parliament.

There are in this city, say the petitioners, a great number of churches, but the one-half of them, at the least, are utterly unfurnished of preaching ministers. The other half, partly by means of non-residents, which are very many, partly through the poverty of many meanly qualified, there is

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scarce the tenth man to be found that maketh any conscience carefully to wait upon his charge, whereby the Lord's Sabbath is often wholly neglected, and for the most part miserably mangled. As sheep going astray without a shepherd, we humbly, on our knees, beseech this honorable assembly, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, to become humble suitors unto her majesty, that we may have guides as hungry men, that the bread of life may be brought home unto us, that the sower may come into the fallow-ground, that the pipes of water may be brought into our assemblies, that there may be food and refreshing for us, our poor wives, and forlorn children. So shall the Lord have his due honour, you shall discharge a good duty to her majesty, many languishing souls shall be comforted, atheism and heresy banished, her majesty have more faithful subjects, and you more hearty prayers for your prosperity in this life, and full happiness in the life to come, through Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour."

This state of things may well have induced thoughtful and pious men to connive at some transgressions of ecclesiastical rule, on the part of brethren whose honesty was undoubted. If no tenderness was due to the person of the non-conforming minister, some regard should have been paid to the religious interests of his people. The alternative, in many cases, was a connivance at the scruples of the puritans, or a suspension of the preaching of the gospel. The bishops of Elizabeth, for the most part, chose the latter, and thus incurred a degree of guilt which it is fearful to contemplate.

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Publication of
the Gaping
Gulf by
Stubbs.

Sep. 27.

In the year 1579, the queen, then forty-six years of age, was engaged in a treaty of marriage with the duke of Anjou, a brother of the French king. This match was justly regarded with serious apprehensions by Elizabeth's protestant subjects, and especially by the puritans. Remembering the recent Bartholomew atrocities, they were alarmed at the prospect of a French match, and preached and spoke against it as an offence to religion, and an injury to the land. Mr. John Stubbs, a puritan lawyer, published a treatise against the marriage, entitled, after the fashion of his day, *The discovery of a gaping gulf, wherein England is like to be swallowed by another French marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banns, by letting her see the sin and punishment thereof*. The queen, being highly incensed at this publication, issued a proclamation designed to refute its statements, and commanding the person of its author to be secured.^o Within a few days, Stubbs, together with Singleton, his printer, and William Page, the disperser of his book, were apprehended. The last was pardoned; but the other two were, on an act of Philip and Mary, sentenced to have their right hands cut off. This barbarous punishment was inflicted on a scaffold erected in the market-place at Westminster. "I remember," says Cambden, "being present thereat, that when Stubbs, having his right hand cut off, put off his hat with his left, and say'd with a loud voice, *God save the queen*, the multitude standing about was altogether silent, either out of horror of this new and unwonted punishment, or else out of pity towards the man, being of most

• Strype's Annals, ii. ii. 232, 303. Grindal, p. 359.

honest and unblameable report, or else out of hatred of the marriage, which most men presaged would be the overthrow of religion.”^p Stubbs was a man of learning as well as of loyalty, and was subsequently employed by the lord treasurer to answer a work of cardinal Allen’s, entitled *The English Justice*, which he accomplished to his own honour and to the benefit of the protestant cause.^q

About this time Robert Brown began to attract the attention of the bishops. He was descended from an ancient family in Rutlandshire, and was a relative of the lord treasurer Burleigh. His education was received at Cambridge, where he imbibed the spirit of ecclesiastical innovation, which he carried to a much greater extent than Cartwright or any of his predecessors. His labours were principally confined to the diocese of Norwich, where he preached with great success. The vehemency

Robert Brown

^p Annals, 133. The *Gaping Gulf* is represented in the queen’s proclamation as a *lewd and seditious book*, and this description has been re-echoed by some modern writers. Such persons would do well to read the pamphlet they thus libel. “This pamphlet,” says Mr. Hallam, “is very far from being what some have ignorantly or unjustly called it, a virulent libel; but is written in a sensible manner, and with unfeigned loyalty and affection towards the queen. But, beside the main offence of addressing the people on state affairs, he had, in the simplicity of his heart, thrown out many allusions proper to hurt her pride, such as dwelling too long on the influence her husband would acquire over her, and imploring that she would ask her physicians whether to bear children at her years would not be

highly dangerous to her life.”—Const. Hist. i. 315.

^q Strype’s Annals, ii. ii. 305. This same year Matthew Hammond was cited before the bishop of Norwich for heresy and blasphemy. He was charged with denying the inspiration of the New Testament, the Divinity of the Saviour and of the Holy Ghost, and the perpetuity of baptism and of the Lord’s supper. He was first sentenced to lose his ears, which barbarity he endured with firmness, and was subsequently burnt in the castle-ditch at Norwich, on May 20, 1579.—Collier, ii. 569. Heylin’s Presby., 280. Our account of the sentiments of Hammond is derived from his persecutors, and should therefore be received with caution. It has been no uncommon thing for persecutors to misrepresent the creed, in order to justify the murder, of their victims.

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of his style, which had rendered him popular even at Cambridge, drew many of the country people to his preaching, and enabled him to exercise considerable influence over them. "His arrogant spirit of reproving," said the bishop of Norwich in a letter to Burleigh, "was such as it was to be marvelled at; the man being also to be feared, lest, if he were at liberty, he should seduce the vulgar sort of the people, who greatly depended on him; assembling themselves together to the number of a hundred at a time, in private houses and conventicles to hear him, not without danger of some evil intent."^r

Apprehended
by the eccle-
siastical com-
missioners.
1581.

1582.

1585.

He was apprehended by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and committed to the sheriff of the county; but on the intercession of the lord treasurer, he was permitted to repair to London, where the persuasion of his friends, and the reasoning of the archbishop, brought him to some degree of compliance. Soon afterwards he left the kingdom and settled at Middleburgh in Zeeland, where he formed a church on his own principles. His views were set forth in a work entitled *A Treatise of Reformation, without tarrying for any, &c.*, in which he contended for the church's independence of the civil power, and argued the wickedness of waiting for the magistrate's sanction in order to reform the constitution and offices of the church. The society over which he presided being torn with division, Brown returned to England in 1585, when he was cited before Whitgift to answer certain charges founded on his *Treatise of Reformation*. The intercession of Burleigh again effected his release, and

^r Strype's Annals, iii. i. 22.

he was sent to his father's in hope that his past troubles would render him more temperate and submissive for the future. But the restlessness of his spirit continued, and his father at length ejected him from his house. "The old gentleman," says Fuller, "would own him for his son no longer than his son owned the church of England for his mother." Brown now prosecuted a course of itinerant labours, inveighing bitterly against the ceremonies, worship, offices, and constitution of the church. Wherever he came, he pronounced the church of England to be antichristian, and exhorted the people to introduce, without delay, a simpler and more scriptural form of ecclesiastical polity. Cartwright and his disciples had long waited for the parliament to introduce the reforms which they advocated; but Brown denied that the sanction of the magistrate was necessary, and affirmed every congregation of Christians to be a church, free from external control, and competent to the regulation of its own affairs. The itinerant character of his labours brought him in contact with a large number of persons, while his sanguine temperament and ardent zeal prompted him to seize every opportunity for the diffusion of his views. His success was consequently great. Churches were planted in various parts of the kingdom; and principles were brought into discussion, which, though rejected at first as democratical and irreligious, have subsequently made their way to the confidence and admiration of a large portion of the community. He was therefore at once dreaded and opposed by the bishops and their agents. The whole system of ecclesiastical tyranny was arrayed against him, and

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1586.

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1589.

he had the honor, as he professed to esteem it, of having been confined in thirty-two prisons. He at length settled at Northampton, where his preaching engaged the attention of Lindsell, the bishop of Peterborough, who cited him before him, and on his refusing to comply, excommunicated him. Brown is represented as having been so deeply affected by this sentence as to be induced to make his submission to the bishop, and to return to the communion of the church. The lord treasurer wrote a letter to Lindsell on his behalf, entreating that if "there should remain any relics in him of his former erroneous opinions, that he would confer with him ; and finding him dutiful and conformable (as he hoped he should), to receive him again into the ministry, and to give him his best means and help for ecclesiastical preferment." He was subsequently preferred to the rectory of a church near Oundle in Northamptonshire, where he remained till his death.^s His private character did not conciliate esteem or affection. He was haughty, dogmatical, and passionate ; a restless zealot, who contended for the forms of religion without evincing the moral rectitude and simplicity of intention which are the essential ingredients of a religious reformer.^t

* Fuller, ix. 166—169. Heylin's Hist. of Presby. 295--297. Collier, ii. 581. Strype's Annals, iii. i. 22. Whitgift, i. 619. Fuller is sceptical on the point of Brown's renouncing his former opinions, and, I think, not without good reason. He took no part in the public ministry of his church, but retained a curate who did the whole of the duty.

^t Fuller knew Brown, and gives

the following account of him. "For my own part, I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature, offended if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the sabbatarian strictness to which some preciser Brownists did afterwards pretend, that both in judgment and practice he seemed rather

The principles which Brown advocated were substantially the same as those which are now held by the majority of English dissenters. He maintained that the Christian church is a voluntary association of believing men, that it is competent to the management of its own affairs, and is capable of existing under every form of civil government which human society can assume." He consequently repudiated its subjection to the state, and denied the possibility of its sustaining a national character. It necessarily followed from these principles, that he should denounce the hierarchy as an unscriptural institution, adapted rather to advance the designs of its political supporters, than to promote the religious

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His principles

libertine therein. In a word, he had in my time a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some disgust ; and a church wherein he never preached, though he received the profits thereof." He died about the year 1630, in Northampton jail, whither he had been conveyed for striking the constable of his parish.

"The church planted or gathered," says Brown, "is a company or number of Christians or believers, which, by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in one holy communion ; because Christ hath redeemed them unto holiness and happiness for ever, from which they were fallen by the sin of Adam.

"The church government is the lordship of Christ in the communion of his offices ; whereby his people obey his will, and have mutual use of their graces and callings, to further their godliness and welfare."—*The life and manners of all true Christians.* 1582,

p. 20. His views on the subject of ecclesiastical censure were sober and scriptural ; and if fairly acted on, would effectually exclude coercion from the Christian church. "Rebuke is a pronouncing of the known wickedness of any, with condemning the same, in the hearing of the offender only, if his fault be private ; or of witnesses, if he be wilful therein, and openly justify it ; or of the church, if he yet be more wilful ; or else if his fault be open, in the presence and hearing of those which see his fault ; or if he be wilful, before the church, whereby he may be ashamed and others fear. Separation of the open, wilful, or grievous offenders, is a dutifulness of the church in withholding from them the Christian communion and fellowship, by pronouncing and showing the covenant of Christian communion to be broken by their grievous wickedness, and that with mourning, fasting, and prayer for them, and denouncing God's judgments against them."—*Ibid.*, p. 26.

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welfare of mankind. He attacked the whole system of the established church, denying the validity of its orders, the purity of its rites, the rectitude of its worship, and the soundness of its constitution. He declaimed against it as a spiritual Babylon, loaded with many of the abominations of the popedom, equally haughty in its spirit, though less powerful to accomplish its intolerant designs. On these topics he indulged in language, the harshness and asperity of which cannot be too severely censured. Forgetting the meekness of the Christian spirit, he employed raillery and invective where calm reasoning and scriptural exhortation would have been more appropriate. Some of his earliest followers partook of his temper; but the evil was speedily corrected by the consistent piety and sterling good sense of those who succeeded. Discarding his severity and uncharitableness, they condemned the anathemas he had uttered against all other communities, and blended the softer graces of Christianity with the fidelity that was requisite for the defence of neglected truths. His principles were thus purified from the alloy with which he had debased them, and were exhibited in a form which won the respect, even where they did not effect the conviction, of impartial and reflecting men.^v

Meeting of
Parliament.
1581.

After several prorogations, the parliament again met on January 16, 1580-1, and one of their earliest measures was to resolve on a public fast, and on daily preaching. "That so they beginning their

^v An interesting account of the history and principles of the Brownists is furnished by professor Vaughan in his *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, chap. 20.

It is drawn up with his usual accuracy and discrimination, and may be consulted with great advantage. See also Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, i. 13.

proceedings with the service and worship of God, he might the better bless them in all their consultations and actions.” The queen was highly offended with this invasion of her prerogative; and the house, not being yet prepared to vindicate its constitutional privileges, tamely submitted.^w The disposition of the commons was subsequently shown in a petition to the queen for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses. The great number of unlearned ministers, the abuse of excommunication, the commutation of penance, the multitude of dispensations and pluralities, and many other things very hurtful to the church, were specified by the commons as needing reformation. A committee was appointed to solicit the concurrence of the bishops, and a favourable answer was obtained from the queen.^x But the session passed away without anything being done. Elizabeth was not sincere in seeking the correction of ecclesiastical abuses. Her agents knew this, and therefore trifled with the business which she entrusted to their hands.

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Two laws were passed in this session of parliament which grievously affected the puritans. They were designed to operate against the papists, whose emissaries were now more active than ever. The statutes enacted against the members of the Romish church had served to alienate them from the queen's government, and to attach them to the interests of Mary Stuart, the rival and prisoner of Elizabeth. Their disaffection had shown itself on various occasions, and only wanted a favourable

^w D'Ewes's Journal, pp. 282—285.

^x Ibid., pp. 301—302.

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Act to retain
the queen's
subjects, &c.

opportunity to subvert the government and assail the life of the queen. More lenient measures might have restored their loyalty; but the atrocities of popery were too recent, and had made too vivid and horrifying an impression on the mind, to allow of their adoption. He who had proposed them would have subjected himself to the suspicion of disloyalty and irreligion, without the slightest chance of benefiting the members of the Romish communion. The house of commons, much as it disapproved of the severities practised against the puritans, were disposed to adopt any measures which promised to subdue and extirpate popery. A law was therefore passed, entitled "An act to retain the queen's subjects in their due obedience," which, after repeating the former provisions that had made it high treason to reconcile any of the queen's subjects, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, imposes a penalty of twenty pounds a month on all persons absenting themselves from church, unless they heard the English service at home.⁷ This clause was sub-

⁷ Camden's Annals, cxxxiii. p. 12. Fuller's Ch. Hist., b. ix. p. 131. Hallam's Const. Hist. i. 196. Neal, i. 300. This law enacted, "That all persons that do not come to church or chapel, or other place where common prayer is said, according to the act of uniformity, shall forfeit twenty pounds per month to the queen, being thereof lawfully convicted, and suffer imprisonment till paid. Those that are absent for twelve months shall, upon certificate made thereof into the king's bench, besides their former fine, be bound with two sufficient sureties in a bond of two hundred pounds for their good behaviour. Every schoolmaster that does not come to common prayer, shall for-

feit ten pounds a month, be disabled from teaching school, and suffer a year's imprisonment." "Some," says Fuller, "and those far enough from all popery, misliked the imposing of money mulcts on men's consciences. If the mass were lawful, let it be freely permitted; if unlawful, let it be wholly prohibited. It is a sad case to make men pay dear for their damnation, and to sell them a license to do that which the receivers of their money conceive to be unlawful. It is part of the character of the whore of Babylon (which protestants generally apply to Rome), that she traded, or *made a mart of the souls of men*; as this was little better."

sequently interpreted so as to comprehend the puritans as well as the papists, and was enforced with merciless rigor.²

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The other law affecting the puritans, which was passed in this parliament, rendered the publication of seditious libels against the queen's government a capital felony. It was levelled at the books dispersed by the seminary priests; but, by a forced construction, was made to bear on some of the puritanical writings.³ Many puritans were put to death under this statute, the operation of which became so fearful as to render the advocacy of opinions adverse to those of the queen or of her bishops extremely hazardous. Judges were found to put any construction on the law which their employers desired, and juries were sufficiently servile to answer all the purposes of an unscrupulous and despotic court.

Act against
seditious
libels.

* Neal regards this clause as having been designedly introduced by the enemies of the puritans.—Hist., i. 300. On what evidence he founds his opinion, I know not, but am disposed to think him in error. The temper of the parliament was hardly such as wittingly to have intrusted the prelates with additional power for the annoyance and injury of the puritans.

² Hallam's Const. Hist., i. 278. Mr. Neal inaccurately represents this law as directed against the puritans. Speaking of their rigorous treatment, he says, "This exasperated their spirits, and put them upon writing satirical pamphlets against their adversaries; in some of which there are severe expressions against the unpreaching clergy, calling them (in the language of scripture) dumb

dogs, because they took no pains for the instruction of their parishioners; the authors glanced at the severity of the laws, at the pride and ambition of the bishops, at the illegal proceedings of the high commission, and at the unjustifiable rigors of the queen's government; which her majesty being informed of, procured a statute this very parliament," &c.—Hist. of Puritans, i. 299. Heylin also represents this statute as directed against the puritans, and regrets that it was limited to the life of the queen. "Had it been revived," he says, "by either of the two last kings, it might possibly have prevented those dreadful mischiefs which their posterity for so long a time have been involved in."—Hist. of Presby., p. 288.

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The condition of the puritans was grievously affected by the operation of these statutes. They were left to the mercy of the bishops, who unscrupulously availed themselves of the increased means of oppression thus placed in their hands. But the spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny had grown with oppression, and was now become sufficiently strong to endure the severest penalties of the law, rather than renounce its liberty of thought, or forego the forms of worship which it approved. The measures adopted served consequently to irritate rather than to terrify. They gradually dissolved the last bond which united the puritans to the church, and substituted for their early disaffection a fixed and inveterate hostility.

Publication of
A view of
Antichrist in
the English
church.

The growing repugnance of the puritans to the church was evinced in a brief treatise, published about this year, under the title of *A Viewe of Antichrist his lawes and ceremonies in our English church unreformed*. It is represented in the introduction as "A clear glass, wherein may be seen the dangerous and desperate diseases of our English church, being ready utterly to perish, unless she may speedily have a *corrosive* of the wholesome herbs of God's word laid very hot to her heart, to expulse those cold and deadly infections of popery which the attainted apothecaries of antichrist have corrupted her withal; else long she cannot endure." The former part of the treatise consists of four tables, in the first of which the generation of antichrist is fancifully traced, in order to substantiate the relation of the church of England to that of Rome. "What are they," it is asked, "that make laws to the church contrary to the verity, and

deprive, imprison, and banish the members of Christ, both preachers and others, that will not yield thereunto, but Antichrists? And judge indifferently by the antithesis following, whether there be not a young *pope* hatched up in the bosom of our church, whose horns be grown so strong, that he dare push at any, and is to be feared, will shortly push to death many of God's saints, unless the Lord stir up our good magistrates, to cut his horns, or tie him shorter, which is high time to do: so shall the danger of spilling much innocent blood be avoided." The treatise concludes with a prayer that, as Jehoshaphat destroyed the high places in Judah, so the queen might be strengthened by the Lord to "cast down all the high places of idolatry within her land, with the popish canon law, and all the superstition and commandments of men, and to pluck up all filthy ceremonies pertaining to the same. And that her highness may send forth her princes and ministers, and give them the book of the Lord, that thereby they may bring home the people of God to the purity and truth of the apostolic church." ^b

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^b A Parte of a Register, pp. 55-72. This work was apparently written by Gilby and Wilcocks, the name of the former being subscribed at the close of the third table, and that of the latter at the end of the fourth. The ecclesiastical views advocated are presbyterian, as the following passage will show: "Whereby it appeareth, that none but Christ only hath full and sole authority to make laws unto his church; neither is it lawful for any to exercise the censures of the church himself alone, but together with those that are authorized by the church according to the direction

of our Saviour, Matt. xviii. 17. By this church is meant the ministers and elders that are chosen out of the congregation to watch over the flock. The proceedings of this church in matters of difficulty, if it cannot be determined in their congregation, is to call a meeting of the rest of the churches in that province, and if it be a matter of greater weight, to proceed to a greater number; yea, a general meeting of the whole churches of the land, and there, with fasting and prayer, to enter into the causes and to end the same."—*Ibid.*, p. 68.

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Ecclesiastical
arrangements
of the puri-
tans.

An attempt was made by the leading puritans, about the year 1582, to arrange and perfect their ecclesiastical system. A meeting was held for this purpose, probably in London or Cambridge, when various regulations were agreed on, by which it was hoped to introduce the practice of their principles without awakening the jealousy of their superiors, or incurring the penalties of the law. Accommodating themselves as far as possible to the existing system, they sought to render its forms subservient to their own views. "Let no man," they say in their advice to the brethren, "(though he be an university man) offer himself to the ministry, nor let any man take on himself an uncertain and vague ministry, though it be offered unto him. But such as be called to the ministry by some certain church, let him impart it unto that classis or conference (whereof themselves are), or else to some greater church assembly: and if such shall be found fit by them, then let them be commended, by their letters, unto the bishop, that they may be ordained ministers by him. Those ceremonies, which being taken from popery are in controversy, ought to be omitted and given over, if it may be done without danger of being put from the ministry. But if there be any imminent danger to be deprived, then this matter must be communicated with the classis in which that church is; that by the judgment thereof it may be determined what ought to be done. If subscription to the articles of religion, and to the book of common prayer, shall be again urged, it is thought that the book of articles may be subscribed unto, according to the statute thirteenth of Elizabeth, that is, unto such

of them only as contain the sum of christian faith, and doctrine of the sacraments. But, for many weighty causes, neither the rest of the articles in that book, nor the book of common prayer, may be allowed, though a man should be deprived of his ministry for it. It seemeth that churchwardens, and collectors for the poor, might thus be turned into elders and deacons, when they are chosen. Let the church have warning fifteen days before, of the time of election, and of the ordinance of the realm ; but especially of Christ's ordinance, touching appointing of watchmen and overseers in his church, who are to foresee that none offence or scandal do arise in the church, and if any shall happen, that by them it may be duly admonished. And touching deacons of both sorts (men and women) the church shall be monished, what is required by the apostle, and that they are not to choose men of custom and of course, or for their riches ; but for their faith, zeal, and integrity. Let the names of such as are so chosen be published the next Lord's-day ; and after that, their duties to the church, and the church's towards them, shall be declared : then let them be received into the ministry to which they are chosen, with the prayers of the whole church." Regulations were also made for a division of the churches into classes, and the several gradations of comital, provincial, and national assemblies, were arranged.^c

Such a scheme, however it might answer a temporary purpose, while the archbishop was sequestered, and the attention of the government principally directed to the Jesuits, could not permanently

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^c Fuller's Ch. Hist., ix. 140. Collier, Eccl. Hist., ii. 582.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Elevation of Whitgift—His articles for the Regulation of the Church—Rigorously enforces Subscription—Address of the Essex Ministers to the Council—Suffolk Address—Publication of Practices of Prelates—Court of High Commission—Articles for the Examination of the Clergy—Burleigh's Letter disapproving of Whitgift's Measures—Whitgift's Reply—Letter from the Council—Conference at Lambeth.

THE death of Grindal, in 1583, made way for the elevation of Whitgift to the primacy of the church. This latter event took place September the 23rd, and was followed by a course of measures which were designed to extirpate, if they did not subdue, the puritan party. "At his first coming to the see," says Collier, "he had instructions from the queen to hold a strait rein, to press the discipline of the church, and recover his province to uniformity. This method agreed with the archbishop's sentiments, and was probably suggested by himself."^d Whitgift was worthy of his vocation. His

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Elevation of
Whitgift to
the archbish-
opric of Can-
terbury.
1583.

^d Eccl. Hist., ii. 581. "To him," says Cambden, "the queen, who, as in civil matters, so also in the ecclesiastical laws, thought that no relenting was to be used, gave in charge, that before all things he should restore the discipline of the church of England, and the uniformity in the service of God, established by authority of parliament, which through the

connivance of the prelates, the obstinacy of the puritans, and the power of certain noblemen, was run out of square."—Annals, 1583, p. 27.

This year was disgraced by the martyrdom of John Lewis, who was burnt at Norwich for denying the divinity of Christ.—Ful-ler's Ch. Hist., ix. 169.

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controversy with Cartwright had fretted his temper, and rendered him a willing instrument of the queen's design. In the early part of his career he had unscrupulously employed his authority as vice-chancellor, in the oppression of his opponent; to the rudeness and asperity of whose controversial writings he now added the rancour of the polemic, and the intolerance of the state priest. "It is seldom good policy," remarks Mr. Hallam, when referring to the elevation of Whitgift, "to confer such eminent stations in the church on the gladiators of theological controversy; who, from vanity and resentment, as well as the course of their studies, will always be prone to exaggerate the importance of the disputes wherein they have been engaged, and to turn whatever authority the laws or the influence of their place may give them against their adversaries. This was fully illustrated by the conduct of archbishop Whitgift, whose elevation the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors had ample reason to regret."^e

Publishes articles for the regulation of the church.

Immediately after his consecration he gave an earnest of his future course, by publishing several articles which the bishops of his province were commanded to execute. Amongst other things it was ordered that all 'preaching, reading, catechising, and other similar exercises, in private places, and where persons are present not belonging to the family, should be discontinued, "seeing the same was never permitted as lawful under any christian magistrate; but is a manifest sign of schism, and a cause of contention in the church." None were permitted to preach who did not four

^e Const. Hist., i. 269.

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times in the year read the service, and administer the sacraments according to the book of common prayer. All preachers were to wear the prescribed apparel, and to subscribe, under the penalty of deprivation, to the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, the agreement of the book of common prayer and of the ordination of priests and deacons with the word of God, and to the truth of the articles of religion agreed on in the convocation of 1563.^f Objections were made to the authority of these articles, and to the legality of enforcing them; but Whitgift was not to be restrained by such scruples. No regard was shown to personal character, or to ministerial reputation; to the good which had been effected, or to the prospects of usefulness which were then unfolding themselves.

Subscription was peremptorily demanded, and deprivation followed its refusal. The archbishop allowed of no middle course. He treated the scruples of conscience with indifference; and the firmness which virtue engendered, he punished as the contumacious resistance of legal authority. The

Rigorously
enforces sub-
scription.

^f Strype's Whitgift, i. 229. The form of subscription was as follows:

I. That her majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, and dominions, and countries, of what estate, ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be. And that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or temporal, within her majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops,

priests, and deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God. And that the same may be lawfully used; and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of sacraments, and none other.

III. That he alloweth the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops in both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord 1562, and set forth by her majesty's authority. And that he believeth all the articles therein contained to be agreeable to the word of God.

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clergy groaned beneath his inflictions. Complaints were loud and universal, and numerous petitions were forwarded to the privy council, praying that his course might be arrested, and his power of doing mischief be decreased. The severities of Whitgift caused the days of Parker to be remembered with complacency, and mainly contributed to that remarkable defection from the English church which so rapidly ensued.^s Sixty-four ministers were suspended in the county of Norfolk, and sixty in Suffolk, together with considerable numbers in other parts of the kingdom.^h Many

^s "Who can deny," says the author of the *Unlawful Practices of Prelates*, when referring to Whitgift's severity in depriving the clergy, "that it came from the humour of one man, as may be esteemed, more carried away with private conceit, than with any grave council and godly experience, perhaps (as myself of some of them understand) against the tide of the advice of many of their own coat; but undoubtedly against almost the former practice of three or four and twenty years' experience: of the peaceable government that hath been under her sacred majesty, and some of the best of those grave and christian predecessors of his; who, howsoever toward some particular good men, some hard dealing here and there were showed by the instigation of some ignorant and half-popish persons, for lack of judgment and knowledge: yet none ever dealt so generally against the whole ministry, and so eagerly against the stream and light of all men's judgments, in so learned an age, before this new plot was heard of; and now, alas, with too much certainty is felt."—A Parte of a Register, p. 282.

^h MS., 436, 437. According to a paper printed by Strype in the Appendix to Whitgift's Life, p. 99, the number of conformable ministers in two dioceses and two archdeaconries, within the province of Canterbury, was seven hundred and eighty-six, and that of nonconformists only forty-nine. This statement does not include London or Norwich, two of the strong-holds of puritanism. It is impossible to reconcile this account with the scarcity of preaching ministers experienced during the latter part of this reign, or with the notoriously puritan bias of a large portion of the clergy. Many may have subscribed to articles which they partially disapproved, rather than incur penury and imprisonment; but still the account of Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, i. 323, which makes the number suspended in six counties for non-subscription to be two hundred and thirty-three, is much more consonant with the complaints so extensively urged against Whitgift's proceedings, and with the strength subsequently displayed by the non-complying clergy.

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were induced to subscribe by promises which were never kept ; and others sacrificed conscience at the solicitations of temporal interest. “ Seeing we are urged,” said a puritan writer of that day, “ we will stand to the proof of every particular, and show how sugarly they dealt, and yet in the end did undermine them, promising to some who had subscribed according to the archbishop’s godly interpretations, that they should have a copy of the same, which after they could not get. To others, that they subscribed with this and that condition, but afterwards their names were mustered in one rank with the rest, as being all under the same colors. That others were promised, after this subscription, much favor and protection against their evil disposed and popish enemies, which yet afterward they felt as the shadow of a naked tree in the latter end of a hot and dry summer; being rather more molested in their commissaries’ court than before. Is not this,” adds the writer, “ undermining, to make a man to swear to answer to articles which he might not see, till afterward, and then to urge him, upon his oath, not only to confess the matters wherewith he is charged, *but any such thing, or any thing sounding that way*, and not only of *public speech*, but private, *when or wheresoever they were spoken*, and not only the things, but the *words*, and not only the *words*, but the *occasion whereon, the manner how, the reasons why, any such things were said*, and that not of one but every article, to the number of seventeen.”ⁱ Such was the inquisitorial process through which the puritans had to pass ; a process as designedly complicated and perplexing

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as any which the worst agents of popery had devised. Numerous petitions were presented to the council by the deprived ministers and by others on their behalf, setting forth the oppressions of the archbishop, and praying that some regard may be shown to the rights of the clergy, and to the religious interests of their people.

Address of
the Essex
ministers to
the council.

“We are in great heaviness,” say the Essex ministers, “and some of us already put to silence, and the rest living in fear ; not that we have been, or can be, as we hope, charged with false doctrine or slanderous life ; but for that we refuse to subscribe that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, contrary to the word of God. We do protest in the sight of the living God, who searcheth all hearts, that we do not refuse in desire to dissent or other sinister affection, but in the fear of God. Now the apostle teacheth, that he which doth doubt, if he eat is condemned. Then, if a man be condemned for doing a lawful action, because he is in doubt whether it be lawful, and yet doth it ; how much more should we incur the displeasure of the Lord, and procure his wrath unto our destruction, if we should subscribe, being certainly persuaded that there be some things in those books contrary to his word.”^j

Suffolk
address on
behalf of
the puritan
clergy.

An address was also presented to the council, by some gentlemen and justices of the peace in Suffolk, setting forth the grievances of their clergy. “These towers of Sion,” say they, “the painful pastors and ministers of the word, by what malice we know not, they are marshalled with the worst malefactors ;

^j MS., p. 330.

presented, indicted, arraigned, and condemned for matters, as we presume, of very slender moment. Some for leaving the holydays unbidden ; some for singing the psalm *Nunc dimittis*, in the morning ; some for turning the questions in baptism, concerning faith, from the infants to the godfathers, which is but *you* for *thou* ; some for leaving out the cross in baptism ; some for leaving out the ring in marriage. Whereupon the law, neither the law-maker, in our judgments, had ever regard, but meant indeed to bridle the enemy. Yet now (a most pitiful thing to see) the back of this law turned to the adversary ; and the edge, with all the sharpness, laid upon the sound and true-hearted subject. We grant order to be the rule of the Spirit of God. We desire one uniformity in all the duties of the church ; the same being agreeable to the *proportion of faith*. But if these mock ceremonies (and their like) be so indifferent, as their use or not use may be left to the discretion of the ministers, we think it, in duty (and under your favorable correction we speak it), very hard to have them go under so hard handling, to the utter discredit of the whole ministry and profession of truth. . . . If, therefore, it may be lawful to speak but truth for ourselves, this is our course : we serve her majesty and the country, not according to our fantasies, as the world falsely bears us in hand, but according to the law and statutes of England. We reverence both the law and the law-maker. Law speaketh, and we keep silence. Law commandeth, and we obey. Without law, we know that no man can possess his own in peace. By law we proceed against all offenders ; we touch none that law spareth ; we spare none

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that law toucheth. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* We allow not of the papists their treacherous subtilties and hypocrisies. We allow not of the *family of love*, an egg of the same nest. We allow not of the anabaptists nor of their community. We allow not of the Brownists, the overthrowers of church and commonwealth. We abhor all these. We punish all these. But now, humbly upon our knees, we pray your good lordships to give us leave to advertise you how the adversary very cunningly hath christened us with an odious name, neither rightly applied, nor surely rightly understood, to the end, no doubt, that we being occupied in the defence of our innocence, they might have the greater freedom to go about their hateful treacheries. It is the name of *puritanism*. We detest both the name and heresy. It is a term compounded of all other heresies aforesaid. The papist is *pure* and immaculate ; he hath store of goodness for himself, and plenty for others. The *family* cannot sin ; they be so *pure* that God is *hominified* in them, and they *deified* in God. But we, thanks be to God, do cry in the bitterness of our souls, *Peccavimus cum patribus nostris*. We groan under the burden of our sins. We confess that there be none worse before God. And yet before the world, we labour to keep ourselves and our profession unblameable. This is our *puritanism*. It pleaseth them to use this name to ministers, to magistrates, and to others, especially to such as have an eye to their juggling. And the name being odious many times with the ignorant sort, it maketh the person odious.”^k

Whitgift was induced, in consequence, probably,

^k Strype's Annals, iii. i. 264.

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of these supplications, to mitigate his rigor in some few cases.¹ But the principles on which he proceeded, and the course which he had marked out for himself, precluded the general adoption of a milder policy. He had coolly decided on his measures, and was not to be deterred from their execution by any sufferings which they involved. The arguments which he employed to remove the scruples of his clergy, were such as his popish predecessors might have used. "If you subscribe not," said he, "to the article concerning the Book of Common Prayer, then by necessary consequence must follow, there is not the true service of God and right administration of the sacraments in the land. 2. If you subscribe not to the book of ordering ministers, then it followeth, your calling is unlawful, and the papists' argument is good : *No calling, no ministry, no church, &c.* 3. If not to the last article, then you deny true doctrine to be established in the churches of England ; which is the main note of the churches. And so I see no reason why I should persuade the papists to our religion, and to come to our church, seeing we will not allow it ourselves." ^m

As though objections could not be preferred to some parts of the service and ceremonies of the church, without the condemnation the whole. This was popery in disguise ; an assumption of infallibility without its profession ; a mean and paltry effort to mislead the judgments of honest men, in order to entrap their conscience, and to secure their submission.

¹ The Unlawfull Practises of Prelates.—Parte of a Register, p.296.

^m Strye's Whitgift, i. 248.

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Publication of
the unlawful
practises of
prelates,

Whitgift's proceedings were exposed in a pamphlet published about this time, under the title of

The Unlawful Practises of Prelates, against godly ministers, the maintainers of the discipline of God.

It is free from most of the faults which belong to the controversial pieces of this age; and while it severely reflects on the pride, ambition, and intolerance of the archbishop, it maintains the dignified style which becomes the advocate of truth. "If the truth have victory," says the writer, "she shall have it against the preachers (in some sort) of the gospel. If she prevail not, God shall revenge her right, both known and resisted. What then in this case shall we do? Shall not the physic be ministered to our sick country, that bringeth perpetual safety and cure, because some present troubling of the humours may for the time disease? Yes, verily. But it were good that peace were gained with giving place. So then, who shall yield, the truth, or man's corruptions? The truth? No. It may melt like gold, but cannot cease to be gold; when, as yet, man's vanities shall turn into smoke. Shall discipline have her right? It cannot be. One evidence doth open one and the same right, both to her and her sister (doctrine). Man's fancy will not give ground, discipline ought not. Such is the nature of truth, it is beat down, but always triumphs. More wisely, therefore, shall we do, if we make her our friend, that must prevail. So this, assuredly, can we no way better do, than by furthering, assisting, and advancing of her most just cause. How this? Private men, with their prayers to God, with supplications and protestations to men. Public presence, with their counsels,

credit, and all other helps, as their vocation shall require. And now, even now, it seemeth the discipline of Christ afresh seeketh and beseecheth the favors of men. The time of the worthy assembly in parliament craveth it. The place, the eye of the realm, challengeth it. The persons, the ancient professors of the gospel, long for it.”ⁿ

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The treatment received by such of the clergy as scrupled subscription, is thus described. “By what way proceeds he (Whitgift) in this business? He cites them. They pay. The thing is urged. They appeal to the subscription required by law, and whereunto they may yield with a good conscience. They are reviled before the people, to the manifold discredit of their ministries. Yea, by their means they have been brought before the bars of justice. They have been arraigned amongst felons and thieves. They have been imprisoned to the uttermost, and defaced, and yet they are silent. They are sent for before the archbishop. The pursuivant is paid. Their journey is chargeable; more costly their attendance. Again they are imperiously appointed to subscribe. Doubts are showed why they may not consent. They are reproached, shaken up, threatened, some imprisoned, none satisfied, none confuted. And further, that way may be made to the full accomplishment of their uncharitable purpose, when they have nothing against them, no witnesses to be produced; but the complaint of some enemy or wretch, the worst in the place they dwell, whose witness ought not to be taken of any righteous court of justice, against any that are godly, by an oath (in old

ⁿ A Parte of a Register, p. 281.

CHAP. XIII. popish practice) *ex officio*, they examine them (by an inquisition much like to that of Spain), of their

ELIZ. secret thoughts, purposes, and intentions. They will know what they think, and what they will do; what they did, and what they have left undone; that they may have some colour to proceed against them. They pretend contempt, and so at length they are suspended. Their preaching is stopped, disorder riseth in every quarter, insolences, confusions. They are debarred of the greatest part of their stipend for the maintenance of a poor silly reader; sometimes dangerous in preaching false doctrine, commonly contemptible, oft reproachful in life and behaviour. O lamentable case! many are deprived utterly, to satisfy disordered persons their desires. O great heinous impiety! Where is the dear account of the most precious preaching of the gospel? Where is the regard due to the credit and estimation of the bringers of so glad tidings? Where is the dutiful and most Christian care of the souls of poor Christians? Alas, it is not found in some; it is not suffered in others; yea, it is most grievously punished in many.”^o

Court of High
Commission
established,
Dec., 1583.

But the opposition which he encountered only served to arouse the archbishop to greater oppressions. Not content with his episcopal jurisdiction, he applied to the queen for the establishment of a court of high commission, urging, amongst other reasons, that search might thus be made for unlawful books, and that authors, printers, and publishers might be examined on oath; that ecclesiastical censures were contemned by the puritans; that the commission might punish by sequestration; and

^o A Parte of a Register, p. 287.

that the ecclesiastical law was a carcass without a soul, unless aided by such a court.^p The queen acted on his advice, and by letters patent, dated December 9, 1583, named forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were bishops, some privy counsellors, and the rest clergymen or civilians, who were empowered to put the acts of supremacy and of uniformity, and two others mentioned in the preamble of the commission, into execution. "And we do give," says the queen, "full power and authority to you, or any three of you, whereof the archbishop of Canterbury, or one of the bishops mentioned in the commission, or sir Francis Walsingham, sir Gilbert Gerard, or some of the civilians, to be one, to inquire from time to time, during our pleasure, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witnesses, and all other means and ways you can devise, of all offences, contempts, misdemeanours, &c. . . . and of all heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours or talks, slanderous words and sayings, &c., contrary to the aforesaid laws." Power is also given to any three of the commissioners, of whom one must be a bishop, to punish all persons who absent themselves from church; to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, &c.; to deprive such of the clergy as maintain any doctrine contrary to the thirty-nine articles; to punish incests, adulteries, fornications, &c.; to examine all suspected persons on their oath, and to visit such as are obstinate or disobedient with excommunication or other ecclesiastical censures, or with fine or imprisonment, at their pleasure.^q Temporary commissions had

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^p Strype's Whitgift, i. 266.

Neal, i. 330. Hallam's Const.

^q Strype's Annals, iii. i. 260.

Hist, i. 271.

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previously been appointed ; but their powers were extremely limited, as compared with the court now established. It was founded on a clause of the act of supremacy, and extended its jurisdiction over the whole kingdom. Had it been established at an earlier period, and its operations been conducted with the silence and barbarity of its kindred institution in Spain, it might have effectually checked the course of human freedom, and done irreparable injury to mankind. But the time of its erection was unfavorable to its success. The national mind had been rapidly progressing for some years, in the knowledge of political science and in the practice of religious liberty. The legality of this monstrous tribunal was, therefore, instantly questioned; and many of the puritans, emboldened by their past struggles, stood forth to challenge its authority, and to brave its terrors. Its power failed to intimidate, while its oppressions served to deepen dissatisfaction, and to extend resistance. Its immediate effects were painful ; but its remote consequences were friendly to the advancement of society in knowledge, virtue, and freedom.

Articles for
the examina-
tion of the
clergy, drawn
up by Whit-
gift.

Whitgift promptly availed himself of the increased facilities for persecution which this court supplied. He drew up a series of interrogations, consisting of twenty-four articles, which embraced every point of clerical uniformity, and were at the same time sufficiently precise to render evasion difficult, if not impossible. To these the ministers were required to answer on oath ; an unrighteous requisition founded on the canon law, and equally opposed to the principles of natural equity and to the spirit of the English constitution. It was impossible for any of the clergy to answer the questions

of the archbishop without incurring the danger of criminating themselves or their friends, for they were so framed as to elicit the slightest ecclesiastical transgression.^r They were designed to supersede the necessity of witnesses, and to render the course of episcopal intolerance more rapid and certain. The brutal harshness with which Whitgift pressed his inquisitorial measures, offended some of his own friends, who were sincerely attached to the established church, and concerned for the maintenance of her authority.

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The lord treasurer Burleigh wrote to the archbishop, expressing his dislike of the articles, and entreating that he would pursue a more moderate and tolerant course.^s “But now, my good lord,” he says, “by chance I am come to the sight of an instrument of twenty-four articles of great length and curiosity, found in a Romish style, to examine all manner of ministers in this time, without distinction of persons. Which articles are entitled, *Apud Lambeth, May, 1584, to be executed, ex officio mero, &c.* . . . Which I have read, and find so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as I think the inquisitors of Spain use not

Burleigh's letter to Whitgift disapproving of his severity.
July 1, 1584.

^r These interrogatories may be seen in Strype's Whitgift, Appendix, Number iv. p. 81, and in Neal's Puritans, i. 337.

^s Sir Francis Knowles, also treasurer of the chamber, wrote a letter to Whitgift, June 8, 1584, in which, referring to popery, he says, “And since this mighty enemy of God, and of her majesty, so full of treasonable practices, cannot be withstood, but by opening the mouths of preachers, zealous and sound in doctrine, although as men they have other-

wise infirmities, as well in discretion as in deepness of judgment, concerning matters politic and things indifferent; therefore I do presume again, as I have done aforetime, most humbly to beseech your grace, to open the mouths of all zealous preachers, that be sound in doctrine, howsoever otherwise they refuse to subscribe to any tradition of man, not compellible by law, or be infirm, as before is said.”—Strype's Whitgift, App. 8. p. 103.

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so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys.

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“I know your canonists can defend these with all their particles ; but surely, under your grace’s correction, this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify or reform. And in charity, I think, they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy. Now, my good lord, bear with my scribbling. I write with a testimony of a good conscience. I desire the peace of the church. I desire concord and unity in the exercise of our religion. I favour no sensual and wilful recusants. But I conclude, that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders, than to reform any. This is not the charitable instruction that I thought was intended. If these poor ministers should, in some few points, have any scrupulous conceptions fit to be removed, this is not a charitable way to send them to answer to your common registrar upon so many articles at one instant, without any commodity of instruction by your registrar, whose office is only to receive their answers. By which the parties are first subject to condemnation, before they be taught their error.”^t

Whitgift’s
Reply,
July 3.

Whitgift replied to the lord treasurer, alleging that he had uniformly acquainted him with his proceedings, and had acted on his advice. “Touching the twenty-four articles,” he says, “which your lordship seemeth so much to dislike, as *written in a Romish style, smelling of the Romish inquisition,*

^t Strype’s Whitgift, i. 310, App. ix. p. 104.

&c., I cannot but greatly marvel at your lordship's vehement speeches against them (I hope without cause), seeing it is the ordinary course in other courts likewise ; as in the star chamber, the court of the marches, and other places. And (without offence be it spoken) I think these articles to be more tolerable, and better agreeing with the rule of justice and charity, and less captious, than those in other courts. . . . For my own part," he adds, "I neither do nor have done anything in this matter, which I do not think myself in duty and conscience bound to do ; which her majesty hath not with earnest charge committed unto me ; and the which I am well able to justify, to be most requisite for this state and church ; whereof, next to her majesty, though most unworthy, or, at the least, most unhappy, the chief care is committed to me ; which I may not neglect, whatsoever come upon me therefore. I never esteem the honor of the place (which is to me *gravissimum onus*), nor the largeness of the revenues (for the which I am not yet one penny the richer), nor any other worldly thing, I thank God, in the respect of the doing of my duty. Neither do I fear the displeasure of man, nor regard the wicked tongues of the uncharitable, which call me tyrant, pope, papist, knave, and lay to my charge things which I never did, nor thought upon." ^u

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In a subsequent letter the archbishop expresses his deep concern at the lord-treasurer's dissatisfaction with his proceedings. "God knoweth," he says, "how desirous I have been, from time to time, to satisfy your lordship in all things, and to

July 15.

^u Strype's Whitgift, i. 310, App. 10. p. 107.

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have my doings approved by you. For which cause, since my coming to this place, I did nothing of importance without your advice. I have risen up early and sat up late, to write unto you such objections and answers as are used on either side. I have not done the like to any man. And shall I now say, that I have lost my labor? Or shall my just dealing with two of the most disordered ministers in a whole diocese (the obstinacy and contempt of whom, especially of one of them, yourself would not bear in any subjected to your authority), cause you so to think and speak of my doings and of myself? No man living should have made me believe it. My lord, an old friend is better than a new. And I trust your lordship will not so lightly cast off your old friends, for any of these new-fangled and factious *sectaries*; whose endeavour is to make division wheresoever they come, and separate old and assured friends. Your lordship seemeth to burden me with *wilfulness*, &c. I think you are not so persuaded of me; I appeal therein to your own conscience. There is a difference betwixt *wilfulness* and *constancy*. I have taken upon me the defence of the *religion* and *rites* of this *church*; the execution of the laws concerning the same; the appeasing of the *sects* and *schisms* therein; the reducing the ministers thereof to uniformity and due obedience. Herein I intend to be constant; which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her majesty, and the goodness of the cause requireth of me; and wherein your lordship and others (all things considered) ought, as I take it, to assist and help me. It is more than strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good

warranty as I do, should be so hardly used, and for not yielding be counted wilful. But *Vincit qui patitur*, overcomes. And if my friends herein forsake me, I trust God will not, nor her majesty, who have laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me; upon whom only I will depend.”^v

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The lords of the council also addressed a letter to the archbishop and the bishop of London, in-

Letter from
the council,
disapproving
of the arch-
bishop's pro-
ceedings.
Sept. 20.

^v Strype's Whitgift, App. 11. p. 112. This letter was accompanied by two papers, one of them containing reasons why ministers should be examined respecting the *articles* on their oath, and the other showing the inconveniences of proceeding on presentment, and conviction of witnesses, and not *ex officio mero*. The latter paper especially, presents the archbishop's notions of equity in no very favorable or pleasing light. The inconveniences of not proceeding *ex officio* are thus stated:

I. It will give a precedent for the obstinate papists, the Brownists, the family-men, and all other sectaries, to look for the like measure, and to be convinced only by witnesses upon presentment; whereas they spread their poison in secret and among their favorites, and therefore can hardly be so convinced, or brought to reformation, though it be never so well known what kind of men they be.

II. It will come also to the same point as before, because the detected by presentment is not hereby convinced, but is by law to be put to his clearing, by answering articles upon his oath, together with compurgators if they be enjoined, whereas no witnesses are to be had for proof of it.

III. This course cannot be taken, by reason of the number of those that are to be reformed, and the distances of the place.

IV. Also, because, if the chief

gentleman in the parish, or most of the parish be so affected, nothing will be presented, as experience teacheth.

V. Further, the great trouble in writing out so many commissions for the giving of charge, and examining of witnesses, must be considered.

VI. The trouble likewise in procuring the commissioners and witnesses below in the country, and the charges of them both, and the registrars in writing, and transmitting the depositions up, which is not meet to be upon the party's charges, especially being not yet known, whether there be cause to remove him or not.

VII. Again, if archbishops and bishops should be driven to use proofs by witnesses, and excluded from other means warranted by law, (as by the answer of the party notoriously defamed or presented,) the execution of the law, which ought in equality to be ministered according to the proper nature of a law, (which ought to be common and general to all sorts, and to have an equal and uniform execution,) should be unequal, by having use against all other persons, and by restraining the use and execution in this point against some persons.

VIII. The archbishops and bishops should be overpressed with charges, if they should be compelled to procure and produce witnesses for every disorder of this nature.”—*Ibid.*, 321.

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forming them of the numerous complaints received from various parts of the kingdom, and urging them to proceed with greater moderation and prudence. "Against all sorts of lewd, evil, unprofitable, and corrupt members," say their lordships, "they heard of no inquisition, nor of any kind of proceeding to the reformation of those horrible offences in the church; but yet of great diligence, yea, and extreme usage, against those that were known diligent preachers. That they therefore, for the discharge of their duties, being by their vocation under her majesty, bound to be careful that the universal realm might be well governed, &c., did most earnestly desire their lordships to take some charitable consideration of these causes. That the people of the realm might not be deprived of their pastors, being diligent, learned, and zealous, though in some points ceremonial they might seem doubtful, only in conscience, and not of wilfulness; nor that their cures be suffered to be vacant; nor that such as were placed in the room of cures be insufficient for learning, or unmeet for their conversation." ^w

Whitgift's
letter to
the queen.

Whitgift now addressed himself to the queen, expressing his devotion to her service, and entreating her countenance. "And albeit," he says, "I have incurred the displeasure of some, and the evil speeches and slanderous reports of every man, yet so long as my service shall be accepted of your majesty, upon whom only, next under God, I do depend, I will not be discouraged, nor faint in my calling; humbly beseeching your majesty to continue your accustomed goodness unto me; and not

^w Strype's Whitgift, 328.

to be drawn into any mislikings of my doings by any information ; until I have answered for myself, and that you have due proofs of the same. And likewise to continue your most gracious and settled disposition in the maintenance of your laws and orders already established and authorized ; considering what doings may follow in these troublesome days, if it shall be lawful for common persons, and private men, in a settled estate, to pick quarrels thereat, and to innovate what they list, when they list, and so often as they list.” * CHAP.
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The numerous applications made on behalf of the puritans, obtained them little favor at the archbishop's hand. He consented indeed to a conference at the close of this year, which took place at Lambeth, in the presence of the earl of Leicester, lord Gray, and sir Francis Walsingham. The disputants, on the first day of meeting, were the archbishop and the bishop of Winchester on the one side, and Mr. Travers and Dr. Thomas Sparke on the other, and the subjects discussed were certain objections urged by the puritans to the book of Common Prayer. On the second day of meeting, the lord treasurer and the archbishop of York were present without taking apparently much part in the discussion. Little good was to be expected from such a meeting, and the parties separated more fixed in their opinions than ever, and more determined to continue the course which they had respectively commenced.^y Conference at
Lambeth.
1584.
Dec. 10.
Dec. 12.

* Strype's Whitgift, i. 333.

^y Paule's Whitgift, page 40. Strype's Whitgift, i. 335. MS. 502-514. Paule and Strype claim

the victory for the archbishop, and represent the noblemen present as having urged the puritan ministers to conformity. This

CHAP. follows of course, and shows the
XIII. futility of such disputations. Pri-

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vate conference may enlighten and convince, but public disputations awaken pride and other bad passions, unfavorable to a calm investigation of the controverted points. Mr. Neal, i. 345, and Mr. Brook, in his Lives of the Puritans, i. 324, represent Strype as affirming that the *mi-*

nisters were convinced of their error, and persuaded to conform by this conference. In this, however, they are mistaken, as a reference to the place which they quote will show. Strype's representation is, that the noblemen present were convinced by the strength of the archbishop's reasonings, and persuaded the two ministers to conform.

CHAPTER XIV.

Parliament of 1584—Articles offered to the Queen by the Archbishop, for the Reformation of Abuses—Whitgift's Letter to the Queen—Press restrained—Cartwright's Return and Arrest—Aylmer's Letter to Burleigh—Travers silenced—Parliament of 1586—Publication of the Holy Discipline—Presbyterianism organized.

IN the parliament which met November 23, 1584, a strong disposition was evinced to befriend the puritans. On the 14th of December, three petitions were presented to the lower house, one respecting liberty for godly preachers, a second for the exercise and continuance of their ministry, and a third for the speedy supply of able men for destitute places. Dr. Turner then reminded the house of a bill and book which he had formerly submitted to its attention, and requested that they might be read. Some of the privy council, who were present, opposed this proposition, and assured the house that the queen would take speedy measures to redress the evils complained of.² Two days afterwards it was proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer that the petitions should be referred to a committee, which should reduce their

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Parliament of
1584 favorable
to the puri-
tans.

² D'Ewes' Journal, p. 339.

CHAP. contents to a series of articles to be presented to
 XIV. the lords for their concurrence. This was accord-
 ELIZ. ingly done, and sixteen articles were extracted,
 which it was proposed to submit in the form of a
 petition to the upper house.^a The first six of these
 articles respected an insufficient ministry ; the rest
 were as follows :

7. That no oath or subscription be tendered to any entering the ministry but such as are prescribed by the statutes of the realm, except the oath against corrupt entering.

8. That ministers using the book of Common Prayer be not troubled for the omission or change of some rites.

9. That they be not cited before the officials and commissaries, to the discredit of their ministry, but that their cases be heard by the bishops themselves.

10. That such as have been suspended or deprived for refusing the articles lately tendered, be restored, or at the least, be permitted to preach where they may hereafter be invited to do so.

11. That the examination *ex officio mero* of godly and learned preachers be abandoned, and that they be not cited to appear before the ecclesiastical commissioners out of the diocese wherein they live, except for some notable offence.

12. That the ministers of every archdeaconry have exercises or conferences amongst themselves, to be regulated as to time, place, and manner, by their ordinary.

13 and 14. That the abuses attendant on excommunication be corrected.

15 and 16. That non-residence and pluralities be

^a D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 340-344.

utterly abolished, or be allowed only on condition of an able and sufficient curate being maintained.^b

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This petition was warmly opposed in the upper house by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, whose influence, aided by the known predilections of the queen, prevented the affair proceeding any further.^c Other bills, however, relating to ecclesiastical matters were introduced, and the support which they received sufficiently indicated the temper of the house. On the 26th of February, a bill against unlawful licenses to marry, and another for swearing bishops and archbishops not to do any thing contrary to the common law of England, received, the former a first, and the latter a second, reading. On the 17th of March, a bill was adopted by the house, for the disposal of parsonages improper to godly and charitable uses; and on the 22nd of the same month, another, for the better execution of the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, for the reformation of the disorders of the ministry of the church, was read a third time and passed.^d The queen charged the commons to refrain from such measures, as inconsistent with her supremacy; but though her messages were always received with profound respect, and were followed by a temporary abandonment of the measures which they

^b D'Ewes' Journal, p. 357. Fuller's Ch. Hist., ix. 149. Strype's Whitgift, App. 13. p. 118. Fuller erroneously assigns these events to the year 1587.

^c The reply of the archbishop of York is recorded in Sir Simond D'Ewes' Journal, p. 369, and that of Whitgift in Strype's Life, i. 354. The latter prelate also drew up an answer to the articles, in writing, which he submitted to the

queen.—Ibid., Appendix 13. p. 124. Strype has printed another answer to the sixteen articles of the commons, which he attributes to the bishops as a body, and supposes to have been drawn up in convocation. — Annals, iii. i. 329, App. 40.

^d D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 360, 361, 369, 371. Strype's Whitgift, i. 368.

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deprecatcd, others of a similar nature were afterwards introduced and pressed on the attention of the house. The spirit of English liberty was now growing amongst the national representatives; and though not yet sufficiently matured to resist the encroachments of the sovereign, it was too strongly tamely to acquiesce in them.

Articles offered by the archbishop to the queen for the reform of abuses.
Dec. 15, 1584.

The archbishop and clergy became alarmed at the resolute and menacing attitude of the commons. They had attempted to disarm them by presenting five articles to the queen specifying the alterations which they deemed advisable. These respected the admission of proper persons to the ministry, the prevention of the too frequent commutation of penance, the restraint of licenses to marry without banns, the correction of some abuses in excommunication, and the decrease of pluralities.* “As that party,” says Strype, referring to the puritans, “had offered their articles to the parliament to be redressed, so the archbishop presented as soon, or sooner, his to the queen; wherein he (with the rest of the bishops) prudently took the best course to oblige the queen; who, as she looked upon herself, according to her title, to have the supreme government and care of her church’s affairs under God; so she disliked to have her parliaments, consisting of laymen, to meddle in church matters.” The reforms thus proposed fell far short of what the parliament contemplated; but even these were neglected for many years, and did not receive the sanction of convocation till near the close of this reign. The queen’s counsellors often complained of the unwillingness of the bishops to effect such

* Strype’s Whitgift, i. 364, App. 14. p. 130.

modifications of ecclesiastical laws and usages as were admitted to be necessary: and their conduct in this instance did not tend to remove the imputation. The queen was their only hope, and to her they appealed in a petition against a bill for the suppression of pluralities, then pending in parliament.^f Whitgift also addressed a letter to the queen, in which he artfully flatters her tyranny, and endeavours to make her parliament the object of suspicion. "May it please your majesty," he says, "to be advertised, that notwithstanding the charge of late given by your highness to the lower house of parliament, for dealing in causes of the church; albeit also, according to your majesty's good liking, we have set down order for the admitting of meet men in the ministry hereafter; yet have they passed a bill in that house yesterday, touching that matter, which, besides other inconveniences, (as, namely, the trial of the ministers' sufficiency by twelve laymen, and such like,) hath this also, that if it pass by parliament, it cannot hereafter but in parliament be altered, what necessity soever shall urge thereunto; which I am persuaded in short time will appear, considering the multitude of

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Whitgift to
the queen a-
gainst the
commons,
Mar. 24, 1585.

^f Referring to this bill, they represent it as pregnant with the most calamitous results. "Which indeed," say they, "impeacheth your majesty's prerogative royal; impaireth the revenue of the crown; overthroweth the study of divinity in both universities; depriveth men of the livings they do lawfully possess; beggareth the clergy; bringeth in a base unlearned ministry; taketh away all hope of a succession in learning; will breed great discontentment in the younger sort of students; and make them fly to

other seminaries, where they may hope for more encouragement; will give the adversary just cause to rejoice and triumph, when they shall see the clergy and learning generally so much disgraced and vilified by the gentry and commons of this land; abridgeth all ability in the ministry, either of keeping hospitality, or of contributing to the state in case of necessity; and, that which is most lamentable, maketh way to an anarchy and confusion."—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 383.

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livings not fit for men so qualified, by reason of the smallness thereof. Whereas, if it is but as a canon from us by your majesty's authority, it may be observed or altered at your pleasure." ^g The parliament was soon afterwards prorogued, and subsequently dissolved; but the primate and his brethren instead of employing the opportunity thus afforded in recovering the esteem and confidence of the

^g Strype's Whitgift, i. 391. The archbishop well knew the temper of the queen, and skilfully adapted his suggestions to it. He so far succeeded as to induce her to send a message to the commons, commanding them to desist from interfering with church matters. The speaker referred to this in his address to the queen at the close of the session, informing her that they had dutifully complied with her pleasure, "for that it was well understood that your majesty, as having by God's ordinance a supreme authority for that purpose, had straitly charged the archbishops, bishops, and your whole clergy, now assembled in their convocation, to have due regard to see to the reformation of diverse abuses in the government and discipline of the church. And so our firm hope is, that your majesty will, by your strait commandment to your clergy, continue your care to see and command that such abuses as are crept into the church, by the negligence of the ministers, may be speedily reformed, to the honor of Almighty God, and to your own immortal praise, and comfort of your subjects." The queen did not forget to advert in her reply to the proceedings of the commons; and while her remarks betray her usual jealousy of any interference with her supremacy, they indicate something like dissatisfaction with the bishops. "There be some fault-

finders," said Elizabeth, "with the order of the clergy, which so may make a slander to myself and the church, whose over-ruler God hath made me; whose negligence cannot be excused, if any schisms or errors heretical were suffered. Thus much I must say, that some faults and negligences may grow and be, as in all other great charges it happeneth, and what vocation without? All which if you, my lords of the clergy, do not amend, I mean to depose you. Look ye, therefore, well to your charges. This may be amended without heedless or open exclamations. . . . I see many over-bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of his blessed will, as lawyers do with human testaments. The presumption is so great, as I may not suffer it; yet mind I not hereby to animate Romanists, which, what adversaries they be to mine estate is sufficiently known; nor tolerate new-fangledness: I mean to guide them both by God's holy true rule. In both parts be perils; and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kingly rule, to have every man, according to his own censure, to make a doom of the validity and privy of his prince's government, with a common veil and cover of God's word, whose followers must not be judged but by private men's exposition."—*Parl. Hist.* i. 331-334.

community by conciliatory measures, only exasperated it the more by increasing severity and intolerance. The dictates of experience, and the suggestions of pity, were alike despised. Instead of profiting by the warnings they had received during the last session, they treated the feelings of the nation with contempt, and seemed anxious to accelerate their own fate.

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In the convocation which sat during this parliament, the puritans had endeavoured to obtain a redress of their wrongs. But their petition was rejected, and a paper which they addressed to the archbishop was equally unsuccessful.^h They applied in succession to every quarter whence they could hope for succour, but failing to obtain it, they were compelled to adopt measures which placed them in more direct hostility to the ecclesiastical institutions of the land. It happened with them as with other victims of persecution. The rigorous treatment which they experienced, instead of recalling them to the communion of the church, drove them farther from it, and thus afforded to their enemies a pretext for severer and more exterminating measures. Cases of individual oppression were continually taking place, in all parts of the country. The most zealous and laborious of the clergy were harassed by citations, and were kept in perpetual alarm by a system of mistrustful inspection, which invaded the privacy of home, and sought to penetrate into the secrets of the heart.

The archbishop was deeply concerned to prevent his adversaries from circulating their sentiments through the medium of the press. The council had assumed, in various proclamations, the right of

Press
restrained.

^h MS. 595. Strype's Whitgift, i. 386.

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restraining the importation, and of regulating the sale of books; and Whitgift now urged on the queen the importance of their authority being interposed to guard the church and clergy from the attacks to which they were daily subjected. He thus succeeded in obtaining a decree from the star-chamber, which, after declaring that great abuses had been practised by persons exercising the art of printing, proceeded to enjoin that all printers should certify their presses to the Stationers' Company, under the penalty of a year's imprisonment; and that none should be kept in any other place than London, excepting one in each of the Universities. Such printers as had commenced their business within six months were to discontinue the same, and no new ones were to be admitted till the excessive number already existing were diminished. None were to print any book until it had been perused by the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London, except the queen's printer and the law printers. Every person printing books against the form or meaning of any statute, injunction, letters patent, &c., was to suffer the loss of his presses, to be disabled from continuing his calling, and to be imprisoned six months.ⁱ

Had the archbishop succeeded in enforcing these ordinances, he would effectually have triumphed over his adversaries, and laid the liberties of his country prostrate. Happily, however, his power was not equal to his intolerance, and the press still continued its services to the cause of freedom and of truth.^j

ⁱ Strype's Whitgift, i. 422. App. 24. p. 160.

^j It is justly remarked by Mr. Hallam, that "The archbishop

exercised his power over the press, as may be supposed, with little moderation. Not confining himself to the suppression of

Cartwright now returned from the continent, in hopes of recruiting his constitution, which was greatly enfeebled by disease. He had officiated for several years as preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp, and had conducted himself with singular moderation and prudence. His physicians recommended him to try his native air, as the only means of saving his life ; and he therefore applied to the lords of the council for permission to return. His case was also represented to the queen, by the earl of Leicester and by lord Burleigh, but her majesty declined to grant her protection. Cartwright at length resolved to act on the advice of his physicians; but scarcely had he landed, when Aylmer, the bishop of London, apprehended and committed him to prison. This was an act of barbarity which no plea can justify or extenuate. The puritan advocate had confined himself for years to the diligent discharge of his ministerial duty. All the powers of his capacious and vigorous mind had been directed to the exhibition of those doctrines which all professed to believe, and to the enforcement of those duties in the practice of which human virtue and happiness consist. And he was now returning to the land of his fathers, with scarcely any other prospect than that of speedily

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Cartwright
returns to
England.
1585.

His arrest.

books favoring the two religions adverse to the church, he permitted nothing to appear that interfered in the least with his own notions. Thus we find him seizing an edition of some works of Hugh Broughton, an eminent Hebrew scholar. This learned divine differed from Whitgift about

Christ's descent to hell. It is amusing to read that ultimately the primate came over to Broughton's opinion ; which, if it prove some degree of candour, is a glaring evidence of the advantages of that free inquiry he had sought to suppress." — Const. Hist., i. 325.

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sinking into the grave. In such circumstances, a generous foe would have commiserated his condition, and sought to supply his wants. But Aylmer was as incapable of generosity as he was unacquainted with the higher charities which religion inspires. The government was disposed to connive at Cartwright's return, but the bishop eagerly availed himself of the opportunity to incarcerate his victim. Dreading, however, the odium which would attach to himself and his order if he proceeded against his prisoner in the high commission court, Aylmer arrested him by a warrant from the queen, of which he informed the lords of the council. Elizabeth was incensed at his having thus acquainted her council with the authority she had given him, and the bishop was reduced to the disgraceful dilemma of addressing the following letter to the lord treasurer :

Aylmer's
letter to
Burleigh,

“ I understand myself to be in some displeasure with her majesty, about Mr. Cartwright, because I sent word to your lordships, by the clerk of the council, that I committed him by her majesty's commandment. Alas ! my lord, in what a dilemma stood I, that if I had not showed that warrant, I should have had all your displeasures, which I was not able to bear ; and using it for my shield (being not forbidden by her majesty), I am blamed for not taking upon me a matter wherein she herself would not be seen. Well, I leave it to God, and to your wisdom, to consider in what a dangerous place of service I am. But God, whom I serve, and in whose hands the hearts of princes are, as the rivers of waters, can and will turn all to the best ; and stir

up such honorable friends as you are, to appease her majesty's indignation." ^k

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Whitgift appears to have been moved to something like compassion by the enfeebled state of his opponent, though he refused him a license to preach, which the earl of Leicester solicited. "I am content and ready to be at peace with him," he says, "so long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity." ^l

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Cartwright was, in consequence, released from confinement, and was soon afterwards appointed, by the earl of Leicester, to the mastership of an hospital, at Warwick, which was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. ^m Here he laboured with unwearied diligence, though not without molestation. His talents and influence were too much dreaded by the bishops to allow him to remain un-

^k Strype's Aylmer, p. 76. This letter is without date; but in the Lansdowne collection in the British Museum, are two letters from Cartwright to Burleigh, the one dated April, 1585, requesting that nobleman to procure his liberty, and the other, June, 1585, returning thanks to his lordship, for having done so.—Hanbury's Life of Cartwright, prefixed to Hooker's Works, p. 170.

^l Hooker's Life, prefixed to his works, p. 85. Strype's Whitgift, i. 428.

^m Clarke's Lives, p. 19. His labors at Warwick were not confined to the hospital. "It was his meat and drink," says Clarke, "to be doing the will of his heavenly Father; so that besides all his pains in writing, and in the hospital, he preached every Sab-

bath day in the morning about seven o'clock, in the lower parish of Warwick, and when he could be suffered, in the upper parish in the afternoon; besides which, he preached a lecture on Saturdays in the afternoon, in the upper church, in which he went over a great part of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, with singular judgment and profit; and this he did of his own free-will, without demanding or receiving one penny for his pains. And whereas, he was sometimes suspended by the bishops from preaching in the churches, his manner was at those times to preach in the hospital, whither many resorted to hear him, though they were sure to be brought into the bishop's court for the same."

CHAP. XIV. disturbed. He was subsequently brought into
 ELIZ. trouble, and in his enfeebled age had to endure the
 insolence of oppression, and the rigors of confinement.

Mr. Travers
 silenced by
 the arch-
 bishop.

Mr. Walter Travers, a distinguished puritan divine, was, about this time, prohibited by the archbishop from preaching in any place in the kingdom. Entertaining objections to the English mode of ordination, he had repaired to Antwerp in 1578, and was inducted into the ministry by the presbytery of that city.ⁿ He subsequently officiated as assistant to Cartwright, and on his return to England, was appointed domestic chaplain to lord Burleigh. His interest with the lord treasurer might have secured him preferment in the church, if he had not objected to the terms of conformity. He therefore accepted the lectureship of the Temple, for which no subscription was required, and was strongly recommended by Mr. Alvey, the master, as his successor. Burleigh favoured his appointment; but the archbishop represented him to the queen as one of the principal authors of dissension in the church, and entreated her majesty not to encourage the puritans by sanctioning his introduction to so influential an office. Mr. Hooker was accordingly appointed, and Travers continued his lectureship.^o The different views entertained by these distinguished men, interrupted the harmony of their intercourse, and ultimately led to the expulsion of Travers. Hooker was friendly to the ceremonies and discipline of the church, while Travers deemed them imperfect, and advocated their revision. The

ⁿ Fuller's Church Hist. ix. 214.
 Strype's Whitgift, i. 477.

^o Strype's Whitgift, i. 340.
 Annals, iii. i. 352.

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one was a thorough churchman, who esteemed the constitution of the hierarchy perfect, and its offices scriptural, the other impeached the soundness of its foundation, and would gladly have new modelled its worship. Their differences were not confined to points of discipline. Travers was a rigid Calvinist; Hooker, a latitudinarian. The former doubted, if he did not deny, the possibility of the salvation of papists, while the latter more charitably argued for their salvability. These differences were introduced to the pulpit; the lecturer replying to the master, and he in return justifying the doctrine he had advanced. "Many of their sermons," says Walton, "were concerning the doctrine and ceremonies of this church, insomuch that as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, so did they withstand each other in their sermons. For as one hath pleasantly expressed it, the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon, Geneva."^p Travers had the advantage of Hooker in an easy and flowing style which won upon his audience, and rendered him more popular than his associate. There was little of bitterness or personal hostility in their sermons; each respected his associate, and was honestly attached to his own views. Whitgift, however, was apprehensive of danger to the church from the continuance of these discussions; and he therefore prohibited Travers from preaching in the Temple or elsewhere.^q The grounds of this proceeding

^p Life of Hooker, p. 87. Hanbury's Ed. of Hooker.

^q Many who approved of the silencing of Travers, objected to the manner in which it was done. Fuller gives the following account of it. "All the congregation on

a sabbath in the afternoon were assembled together, their attention prepared, the cloth (as I may say) and napkins were laid, yea, the guests set, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast; when suddenly, as Mr. Travers

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were threefold; his not being lawfully ordained according to the laws of the church of England; his not possessing a license; and his opposition to the doctrine of Hooker the master. Travers presented a supplication to the council complaining of his having been condemned without a hearing, and referring his case to their lordships' consideration.^r To the charges exhibited against him, he replies with considerable force, and many of the lords of the council were disposed to concur in his restoration. But Whitgift was omnipotent in church affairs, and the friends of the silenced puritan were therefore incapable of accomplishing their wishes. "His finger," says Fuller, "moved more in church matters, than all the hands of all the privy counselors besides, and he was content to suffer others to be believed (and perchance to believe themselves) great actors in church government, whilst he knew he could and did do all things himself therein."^s

was going up into the pulpit, a sorry fellow served him with a letter prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to authority (the mild and constant submission whereunto won him respect with his adversaries), Mr. Travers calmly signified the same to the congregation, and requested them quietly to depart to their chambers. Thus was our good *Zacharias struck dumb in the temple*, but not for infidelity; impartial people accounting his fault at most but indiscretion. Mean time, his auditory (pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him preach should so publicly prove abortive, and sent sermonless home) manifested in their variety of passion, some grieving, some frowning, some murmuring, and the wisest sort, who held their tongues, shook

their heads, as disliking the managing of the matter."—Ch. Hist., ix. 217.

^r Travers's Supplication and Hooker's Reply are subjoined to Hooker's Works.—Hanbury's Ed. iii. 335.

^s Church Hist., ix. 218. The archbishop's method of evading requests made on behalf of the puritans, is thus described by Fuller. "This was the constant custom of Whitgift; if any lord or lady sued to him to show favour for their sakes to non-conformists, his answer to them was rather respectful to the requester, than satisfactory to the request. He would profess how glad he was to serve them, and to gratify them in compliance with their desire, assuring them for his part, all possible kindness should be indulged unto them; but in fine,

So extensive was the reputation of Travers, that about the time of his expulsion from the Temple, he was invited, together with Cartwright, to the divinity professorship in the university of St. Andrews.^t This, however, he declined; but shortly afterwards he accepted the provostship of Trinity college, Dublin, which he held for several years.^u He ended his days in retirement and penury, possessing the testimony of a good conscience, and the respect of upright men.

In the parliament which met October 29, 1586, great exertions were made to obtain a further reformation of the church.^v The puritans presented a petition to the house of commons, in which they set forth the bishops' neglect of preaching, and their assumption of secular offices, the facility with which they admitted unlearned and irreligious men to the ministry, and their harsh and despotic treatment of many who labored assiduously and with success in their sacred calling.^w On the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, after adverting to the necessity of a learned ministry, and the amendment of things

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Parliamentary efforts on behalf of the puritans.
1586-7.

he would remit nothing of his rigor against them. Thus he never denied any great man's desire, and yet never granted it; pleasing them for the present with general promises, and (in them not dissembling, but using discreet and right expressions) still kept constant to his own resolution. Hereupon afterwards the nobility surceased making more suits unto him, as ineffectual, and even left all things to his own disposal."

^t Fuller, ix. p. 215.

^u Ibid., p. 218.

^v Strype's Annals, iii. i. 639. Whitgift, i. 487.

^w MS., 672. The puritans subjoined to this petition a statement of their grievances, and a table of ecclesiastical statistics, tending to show the deplorable condition of the established church. They had instituted an extensive survey of several counties, with a view of ascertaining the number and value of ecclesiastical livings, and the character of the men by whom they were possessed. It appears to have been conducted with great caution, and is in some cases certified by the justices of the peace. Mr. Neal gives the following summary of the state of several counties:—

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defective in the church, offered to the house a bill and book of prayers, the former containing a petition that all laws in force respecting ecclesiastical government should be annulled, and that the book now offered should be substituted for the one in use.^x

The queen resented this proposition as an invasion of her prerogative; and Mr. Wentworth, and some other members who had spoken in its support, and against the sovereign's interference with their deliberations, were committed to the Tower.^y A petition, however, was presented to the queen, by the commons, in favour of ecclesiastical reform, to which she replied, that their exceptions were frivolous, and the platform which they proposed "most prejudicial unto the religion established, to her crown, to her government, and to her subjects."

	Churches or Livings.	Preach- ers.	No Preach- ers but Readers.		Double beneficed and Non residents.
In Cornwall are about . . .	160	29	140	} of which	25
In Lincolnshire	590	121	455		154
In Oxfordshire	127	29	95		20
In Buckinghamshire, parson- ages, vicarages, and curates serving	210	30	120		160
In Berkshire		29	51		43
In Surrey	140	24	125		8
In sixteen of the hundreds of Essex	335	12	173		71
In Warwickshire	188	41	120		27
In Middlesex, about	60	14	48		16
In London, within and with- out the walls, about . . .	123	97	46		41

—Hist. of Puritans, i. 382.

^x This book contained prayers to be used before and after sermon, but left considerable latitude to the minister. It modified greatly that clause of the creed which affirms the descent of Christ into hell, and omitted three of the thirty-nine articles. It took away the right of patronage, and transferred impropriations

from the laity to the clergy. The calling of archbishops and bishops was declared to be unlawful, and the jurisdiction exercised by their courts was vested in an assembly of ministers and elders.—Neal, i. 383. Strype's Whitgift, i. 490.

^y D'Ewes's Journal, 410, 411, 412, 415.

“ Her majesty takes your petition,” said Elizabeth at the close of her reply, “ to be against the prerogative of her crown. For by their full consents it hath been confirmed and enacted (as the truth herein requireth) that the full power, authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy in church causes, which heretofore the popes usurped and took to themselves, should be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.”² The authority of the crown was yet too powerful for the parliament, and the church was, in consequence, protected from its reforming spirit. The influence of the archbishop was vigorously employed with the queen, who lent a ready ear to his suggestions, and proclaimed unceasing hostility to his enemies. He was the animating spirit of her ecclesiastical government, without whose sanction no measure was adopted, and who embodied in his policy the tyranny and intolerance which were so gratifying to her despotic temper.

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Publication
of the Holy
Discipline.

Failing in the constitutional methods thus employed to obtain redress, the puritans assumed a bolder aspect, and spoke in a firmer and less compromising tone. As the hope of obtaining the magistrate's concurrence was abandoned, they felt the necessity of adopting more vigorous measures, and of promptly acting on their own convictions. An important work, entitled *Disciplina Ecclesiæ Sacra, ex Dei Verbo descripta*, had been drawn up in Latin, principally by Travers, and printed at Geneva about the year 1574, which embodied their views. This was now translated into English, after having been revised by Cartwright

² D'Ewes's Journal, 413. Strype's Whitgift, i. 494.

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and other leading puritans, and was extensively subscribed by the clergy in the following words.^a

“ We acknowledge and confess the same agreeable to God’s most holy word, so far as we are able to judge or discern of it, excepting some few points, (which had been sent to some assembly of the brethren for further consideration.) And we affirm it to be the same which we desire to be established in this church, by daily prayer to God ; which we profess, as God shall offer opportunity, and give us to discern it, so expedient, by humble suit unto her

^a This work was printed at Cambridge, but did not get into circulation, as the vice-chancellor siezed nearly the whole impression. It was reprinted in 1644, under the title of *A Directory of Church Government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the times would suffer, practised by the first nonconformists in the days of queen Elizabeth; found in the study of the most accomplished divine, Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease*; and was ordered to be used in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. Mr. Neal says that above five hundred beneficed clergymen subscribed or declared their approbation of this book.—Hist. of Puritans, i. 387. Bishop Maddox exults in this statement as a proof of the lenity of the rulers of the church. “What a substantial proof is this,” he says, “of the great lenity of the archbishops and bishops, especially as it appears that among these beneficed and licensed puritans we find all their great leaders? What now must the reader think of this gentleman’s (Mr. Neal) heavy complaints of severe usage, the deprivation and silencing of those very persons, who by his own account, were all beneficed and preaching in the church? Here is one important evidence in favour of queen Eliza-

beth and the bishops.”—Vindication, &c., p. 134. Surely his lordship must have calculated on the ignorance of his readers when he penned this passage. It may do for rhetorical effect, but will scarcely abide an impartial scrutiny. The great body of the truly protestant clergy of the church of England are well known to have been puritanically inclined in the beginning of this reign. A very large number of these may already have been deprived or suspended, without rendering it matter of astonishment that five hundred should yet be found to subscribe to the book of discipline.

It is justly remarked by Mr. Neal’s editor, that when the puritan clergy “were continually exposed to suffer from the rigor of government ; — when, as Dr. Bridges declared, a third part of the ministers of England were covered with a cloud of suspensions ; — when many smarted severely for attempting a reformation for which they all wished and prayed ; when Cartwright, Travers, Field, Johnson, Cawdery, Udall, and other leaders of the puritans, were suspended, imprisoned, and frequently in trouble, not to say dying under the hand of power ; the reader will judge with what propriety his lordship exults over our author. —i. 387. 1

majesty's honourable council and to the parliament, and by all other lawful and convenient means, to further and advance, so far as the law and peace of the present state of our church will suffer it, and not to enforce to the contrary. We promise to guide ourselves, and to be guided by it, and according to it, &c. We profess uniformly to follow such regard when we preach the word of God, as in that book by us is set down in the chapter of the office of ministers of the word."^b They also engaged to attend the classical conferences which were to be held every six weeks, and the provincial meetings every half year, as well as the general assemblies which were to be convened annually. This work contained the substance of the alterations for which the puritans pleaded. It is expository, and not controversial, exhibiting the system which they wished to introduce, rather than confuting that of their adversaries. As a model of church government, it is open to some serious objections, and would, probably, had it been adopted by the legislature, have involved much of the injustice and oppression of which its framers complained. Its distinctive characteristics were the maintenance of the equality of ministers, the vesting in the eldership the government of the church, a rigid enforcement of discipline, and a systematic arrangement of ecclesiastical meetings for the regulation of church affairs.

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Presbyterian-
ism organized

The disciplinarians, as the puritans about this time were frequently called, now began to systematize their proceedings, and to assume, in different parts of the country, a more decidedly presbyterian

^b Strype's Whitgift, i. 502.
The form of subscription given by

Neal in his Appendix, Numb. iv.,
varies from the above.

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form. Meetings were held at stated periods, and classes were formed, in which the business of the association was transacted, and the religious interests of the churches reviewed. Their meetings were held in private houses, and the method of conducting them was as follows. Divine guidance having been sought, a moderator was chosen by vote, who again offered prayer. The names of the brethren were then called over, and the matters to be considered were discussed. The authority of the moderator extended to the next meeting of the classes, for which some day was appointed, sometimes within a fortnight, and rarely extending beyond three weeks. On the occurrence of any circumstance which required the consideration of the brethren, the moderator was empowered to call them together before the appointed day. Each member of the classes engaged, on his admission, to submit to the orders and decrees which should be agreed upon by a majority of the brethren. There was another meeting termed the *assembly*, which consisted of delegates from the *classes*. It was held less frequently, and was designed for the determination of more important and weighty matters.^c Various resolutions, designed to consolidate their union and to advance their cause, were adopted at these meetings. In the one held at Cambridge or Warwick, in 1587, the brethren are directed to wipe off the calumny of schism, since they communicated with the church in the word and sacraments, and in all other things except its corruptions;^d and in the following year, the Warwickshire

^c Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, b. iii. c. v. Collier, ii. 603.

^d Strype's *Annals*, iii. i. 691.

classes, in their provincial synod, agreed amongst other things, that private baptisms were unlawful; that homilies were not to be read in the church, nor the sign of the cross to be used in baptism; that the calling of bishops is unlawful; their sentence of deprivation to be resisted; and their courts to be protested against as illegal.^e These proceedings showed the inefficacy of rigor, and the folly of Elizabeth's bishops in despising the scruples and in oppressing the persons of their puritan brethren. The latter had been gradually taught their numbers and strength. Their isolated condition, and the hope of future redress, had long kept them from acting in concert. But the sympathy which suffering induces now brought them together, and the similarity of their principles and wrongs impelled them to organize a resistance to episcopal tyranny more systematic and fearless than any they had hitherto offered. While disunited, they might easily have been satisfied by concession, or overwhelmed by power; but instantly that their strength was united, they began to rise in their demands, and to feel more confidence in the ultimate success of their cause.

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^e Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, b. iii. c. vi. Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 555.

CHAPTER XV.

Publication of the Mar-prelate Tracts—Replies to them—Efforts of the Government to suppress them—Bancroft's Sermon—Sir Francis Knolly's Opposition to the Doctrine of Divine Right advanced by Bancroft—Parliament of 1589—Address of Convocation to the Queen—Case of Mr. Udal—Cartwright and others before the Commissioners, and in the Star-chamber.

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Publication of
the Mar-pre-
late Tracts.

THE year 1588 was rendered memorable by the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, and the overthrow of the Spanish armada. The formidable preparations which had been made by the most powerful sovereign in Europe, for the destruction of the liberty and religion of England, engaged the attention of all classes, and united them in the common defence. The nature and importance of the struggle were fully appreciated; and no section of the community was more enthusiastic on behalf of the life and government of the queen, than the oppressed and persecuted puritans. Unhappily, however, the seeds of religious discord were too widely sown, and the sufferings endured by the puritans had been too severe and recent, to allow of any suspension of the contest between them and their opponents. Being debarred from the open publication of their sentiments, they availed them-

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selves of surreptitious methods to give them circulation. Numerous anonymous pamphlets were issued, which spared no invective or abuse, but, appealing to some of the worst passions of human nature, sought to direct them with destructive energy against the archbishop and his system. The most distinguished and effective of these pamphlets bore the name of Martin Mar-prelate, and were printed at a private press, which was moved from one place to another as the vigilance of Whitgift and his emissaries rendered necessary.^f They were written in a coarse and abusive style, abounded in reproaches and calumny, and were as unworthy of the cause they advocated, as their spirit was foreign from the meekness of christianity. They infinitely surpassed the ordinary limits of controversial invective and bitterness, and attached an odium to puritanism which the virtues of many of its disciples were unable to obliterate. The ruffled temper and angry passions of men, infuriated by oppression, were much more conspicuous in their composition than the zeal which was professed for the honor and extension of religion. The bishops were treated with an insulting rudeness, and no rumours were too improbable, or slanders too base, to be retailed to their disadvantage. There is a strong infusion of personal hostility throughout them, as though their authors would have rejoiced in an opportunity of entombing the bishops and their defenders in the ruins of the hierarchy.^g

^f It was first set up at Mouldsey, in Surrey, whence it was removed to Fausley, in Northamptonshire, and afterwards to Norton, Coventry, and Woolston, from which latter place the type

was sent to the neighbourhood of Manchester, where it was seized by the Earl of Derby.—Collier, ii. 606. Strype's Whitgift, i. 550.

^g One of these pamphlets, entitled, *An Epitome of the First*

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In connexion with these bad qualities, the tracts of Martin Mar-prelate had others which gave them influence among the people, and enabled them to arouse and greatly to extend a feeling of hostility towards the dignitaries of the church. Their language was forcible, and their style declamatory. Their attacks were directed against

Book of that Right Worshipful Volume, written against the Puritans, in the Defence of the Noble Clergy, by as Worshipful a Priest, John Bridges, &c., is addressed "to the right puissant and terrible priests, my clergy masters of the confocation house, whether fickers general, worshipful paltrypolitans, or any other of the holy league of subscription." It contains much of truth, disfigured and debased by a liberal use of abusive epithets. The following passage is one of the most exceptionable: "But our brother Winchester, you of all other men, are most wretched, for you openly in the presence of many hundreds, the last lent, 1587, pronounced that men might find fault, if they were disposed to quarrel, as well with the scripture as with the book of Common Prayer. Who could hear this comparison without trembling? But lest you should think he had not as good a gift in speaking against his conscience, as my lord of Canterbury is endued with, you are to understand that both in that sermon of his, and in another which he preached at the court the same lent, he protested before God, and the congregation where he stood, that there was not in the world at this day, nay, there had not been since the apostles' time, such a flourishing estate of a church, as we have now in England. Is it any marvel that we have so many swine, dumb-dogs, non-residents, with their journey-men the hedge-priests, so many

lewd livers, as thieves, murderers, adulterers, drunkards, cormorants, rascals, so many ignorant and athéistical dolts, so many covetous popish bishops in our ministry, and so many and so monstrous corruptions in our church, and yet likely to have no redress: seeing our impudent, shameless, and waincoat-faced bishops, like beasts, contrary to the knowledge of all men, and against their own consciences, dare, in the ears of her majesty, affirm all to be well, when there is nothing but sores and blisters, yea, where the grief is even deadly at the heart. Nay, says my lord of Winchester (like a monstrous hypocrite, for he is a very dunce, not able to defend an argument, but till he come to the pinch he will cog and face it out, for his face is made of seasoned waincoat, and will lie as fast as a dog can trot), I have said it, I do say it, and I have said it. And say I, you shall one day answer it (without repentance) for abusing the church of God and her majesty in this sort. I would wish you to leave this villany, and the rest of your devilish practices against God's saints, lest you answer it where your peevish and cholerick simplicity will not avail you. I am ashamed to think that the Church of England should have these wretches for the eyes thereof, that would have the people content themselves with bare reading only, and hold that they may be saved thereby ordinarily."—p. 33.

men whose intolerance and tyranny were generally admitted, and the system which they advocated was in accordance with the prepossessions of the most active and zealous members of the community. The oppressions which were known to have been practised by the bishops, and the cupidity with which many of them were chargeable, secured an easy credence to the calumnies which Martin propagated. His intemperance was attributed to an honest indignation, while the parties against whom it was directed were regarded as convicted culprits.^h The moderate use of satire is

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^h The following is a fair sample of the more sober style in which Martin sometimes reasons with his opponents. "Now may it please your grace, with the rest of your worships, to procure that the puritans may one day have a free disputation with you about the controversies of the church; and if you be not set at a flat non-plus, and quite overthrown, I will be a lord bishop myself! Look to yourselves, I think you have not long to reign. Amen. And take heed, brethren, of your reverend and learned brother, Martin Marprelate, for he meaneth in these reasons following, I can tell you, to prove that you ought not to be maintained by the authority of the magistrate, in any christian commonwealth. Martin is a shrewd fellow, and reasoneth thus. Those that are petty popes and petty anti-christs, ought not to be maintained in any christian commonwealth. But every lord bishop in England, as for example, John of Canterbury, John of London, John Exeter, and to be brief, all the bishops in England, Wales, and Ireland, are petty popes and petty anti-christs. Therefore, no lord bishop (now I pray thee good Martin speak out, if ever thou didst speak out, that

her majesty and the council may hear thee) is to be tolerated in any christian commonwealth; and therefore, neither John of Canterbury, John of London, &c., is to be tolerated in any christian commonwealth. What say you now, brother Bridges, is it good writing against puritans? Can you deny any part of your learned brother Martin's syllogism? We deny your minor, M. Marprelate, say the bishops and their associates. Yea, my good masters, are you good at that? What do you, brethren? Say me that again. Do you deny my minor? And that be all you can say, to deny lord bishops to be petty popes. Turn me loose to the priests in that point, for I am old at the proof of such matters. I'll presently mar the fashion of their lordships.

They are petty popes and petty anti-christs, whosoever usurp the authority of pastors over them, who, by the authority of God, are to be under no pastors. For none but anti-christian popes and popelings ever claimed this authority unto themselves, especially when it was gainsaid, and accounted anti-christian generally by the most churches in the world. But our lord bishops usurp authority over those, who,

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sanctioned by the highest authority, and has frequently been subservient to useful and righteous ends; but such a dishonest and bitter employment of it as these pamphlets evince, could only arouse the most indiscriminate and destructive hatred. It is but justice, however, to remember, that they were written under great provocations, in an age when religious controversy was usually conducted with rudeness and asperity, and by men who were prevented from openly defending the principles which they deemed most sacred. Unjust laws, rigorously enforced, drove them from the more honorable field of calm discussion. Acrimonious and resentful passions were thus aroused, which aimed at the infliction of suffering, and the destruction of character, rather than at the correction of vice. Martin thus defends himself from the charges of his enemies: "Like you any of these nuts, John Canterbury? I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter. I am called Martin Marprelate. There be many that greatly dislike of my doings. I may have my wants I know, for I am a man, but my course I know to be ordinary and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government, and of the bishops' anti-christian, to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read any thing written in the defence of the one, and against

by the authority of God, are to be under no pastors, and that in such an age, as wherein this authority is gainsaid and accounted anti-christian generally, by all the churches in the world, for the most part. Therefore, our lord bishop, what sayest thou, man? Our lord bishops (I say), as John of Canterbury, Thomas of Winchester (I will spare John of London

for this time, for it may be he is at bowls, and it is pity to trouble my good brother, lest he should swear too bad), my reverend prelate of Litchfield, with the rest of that swineish rabble, are petty antichrists, petty popes, proud prelates, intolerable withstanders of reformation, enemies of the gospel, and most covetous wretched priests."—*Epitome*, &c., p. 3.

the other. I bethought me, therefore, of a way whereby men might be drawn to do both. Perceiving the humors of men in these times (especially of those that are in any place) to be given to mirth, I took that course: I might lawfully do it, for jesting is lawful by circumstances, even in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place, and persons, urged me thereunto. I never profaned the word in any jest. Other mirth I used as a covert, wherein I would bring the truth into light, the Lord being the author both of mirth and gravity. Is it not lawful in itself, for the truth to use either of these ways, when the circumstances do make it lawful? My purpose was, and is, to do good. I have done no harm, howsoever some may judge Martin to mar all. They are very weak ones that so think. In that which I have written, I know undoubtedly that I have done the Lord and the state of this kingdom great service, because I have in some sort discovered the greatest enemies thereof.”ⁱ

The authors of the Mar-prelate tracts were never discovered. Several persons were suspected, and some suffered death; but the mystery is yet unexplained. They were supposed to have been written by a club, and to have been principally under the superintendence of John Penry, a young Welshman. The criminality which attaches to them, whatever be its amount, is not chargeable on the puritans as a body, for they were disclaimed and severely censured by many of that party. “The more discreet and devout sort of men,” says Fuller, “even of such as were no great friends to the

ⁱ Hay, any Worke for Cooper, p. 14.

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hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolved (I speak on certain knowledge from the mouths of such whom I must believe) that for many foul falsehoods therein suggested, such books were altogether unbeseeming a pious spirit, to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse, which, supposed true, both in matter and measure, charity would rather conceal than discover. The best of men being so conscious of their own badness, that they are more careful to wash their own faces, than busy to throw dirt on others.”^j

^j Church Hist., ix. 193. Lord Bacon also, in his tract on the *Controversies of the Church of England*, makes the same admission. After adverting to the wrongs endured by the puritans, he says, “As for the injuries of the other part, they be ‘ictus inermes,’ as it were headless arrows; they be fiery and eager invectives, and in some fond men, uncivil and irreverent behaviour towards their superiors. This last invention also, which exposeth them to derision and obloquy by libels, chargeth not, as I am persuaded, the whole side; neither doth that other, which is yet more odious, practised by the worst sort of them; which is, to call in, as it were, to their aids, certain mercenary bands, which impugn bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignities, to have the spoil of their endowments and livings: of these I cannot speak too hardly. It is an intelligence between incendiaries and robbers, the one to fire the house, the other to rifle it.”—Bacon’s Works. Montague’s Ed., vii. 53.

Martin himself acknowledges that his writings were regarded with disfavor by many of the puritans. “I know,” he says, “I am disliked of many which are your enemies, *that is of many*

which you call puritans. It is their weakness.”—Hay any Worke for Cooper, p. 20.

Cartwright explicitly declared his disapprobation of the Marprelate tracts, in a letter to the lord treasurer, October 4, 1590. “From the writing of my last book,” he says, “which was thirteen years ago, I never wrote, or procured any thing to be printed, which might be in any sort offensive to her majesty or the state; much less had any hand, or so much as a finger, in the book under Martin’s name. And although there have been diverse books of Anti-martins, printed and read of all that list, wherein I have not only been most contemptuously derided as unlearned, but my good name most slanderously rent and torn in pieces; as, to be a dicer, and to have thrust one through the leg with a knife; also, that I love a cup of sack and sugar, and other such like; whereof, I thank God, there is not the least suspicion; yet, I am able to make good proof, that from the first beginning of Martin unto this day, I have continually, upon any occasion, testified both my dislike and sorrow for such kind of disordered proceeding.”—Strype’s Whitgift, App. i. p. 231.

The church party emulated the worst qualities of Martin in several publications which they issued in reply to his pamphlets ;^k but more service was done to their cause by the bishop of Winchester, in *An Admonition to the people of England*, wherein he undertook to answer “not only the slanderous untruths reproachfully uttered by Martin the libeller, but also many other crimes by some of his brood objected generally against all bishops and the chief of the clergy ; purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the church.”¹ This book was

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Replies to
them.

^k The following titles of some of these Replies will sufficiently indicate their character.

“Pappe with an hatchet, alias, A fig for my godson ; or, Crack me this nut, that is, a sound box of the ear for the idiot Martin to hold his peace. Written by one that dares call a dog, a dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and are to be sold at the sign of the Crab Tree Cudgel in Thwackcoat Lane.”

“Pasquil’s Apology. In the first part whereof he renders a reason of his long silence, and gallops the field with the treatise of Reformation. Printed where I was, and where I shall be ready, by the help of God and my muse, to send you a May-game of Martinism.”

“An Almond for a Parrot ; or, An alms for Martin Mar-prelate, &c. By Cuthbert Curry-Knave.” —Neal, i. 403. Collier, ii. 606. The last of these pamphlets is thus described in *A Brief Discovery of the Untruths and Slanders against the true Government of the Church of Christ, in a Sermon preached by Dr. Bancroft, &c.*, which Strype, Annals, iii. ii. 98, attributes to Penry, the supposed author of the Mar-prelate tracts. “The devil, indeed, hath within this twelvemonth, showed him-

self to be grievously wounded in their (the bishops’) persons, because he hath raged so mightily, as these thirty-two years his fury was never seen so great against the truth as at this present. That vile and scurrilous pamphlet, *An Almond for a Parrot*, lately suffered to come abroad by their privity (if not allowance), and in their defence, doth evidently show that Satan feeleth the power and sway which he was wont to bear, by virtue of the hierarchy, to be greatly weakened. And because he feareth that his time under their government cannot be long, therefore he meaneth now to infect the air at once with all his contagions. The strength which they get by such lewd and filthy stuff, and the discredit which thereby they work either unto the cause, or the men and women whom they suffer to be so unworthily traduced, is no other than it were to be wished (that seeing they will needs be filthy) they would publish such another book every day. That then it might appear indeed whose sons they are. And this is all the confutation that I think so godless and lewd a scrole to deserve.” —Address to the Reader, p. 3.

¹ Strype’s Whitgift, i. 572. Annals, iii. ii. 154.

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revised by the archbishop, who, with many of the bishops, contributed materials to it, for the refutation of the charges which Martin had propagated against them. Some were proved to be slanderous, and others partially incorrect; but the general impression which the anonymous libeller had made could not be wholly effaced.

Efforts of the government to suppress the Mar-prelate tracts.

The publications of Mar-prelate were not likely to escape the notice of the vigilant counsellors of Elizabeth. They constituted so fearless and uncompromising an attack on her ecclesiastical administration, that a government less jealous and despotic than hers may have been expected to take early measures for their suppression. The archbishop was accordingly directed by the council, Nov. 14, 1588, to search for the authors, printers, and dispersers of these tracts; and on the thirteenth of the following February, a proclamation was issued by the queen, commanding all persons who had such books to bring them to the ordinary of his diocese, that they might be destroyed.^m

Bancroft's sermon at Paul's cross, Feb. 8, 1589.

Dr. Bancroft was also employed by the archbishop to counteract the impression which these and other publications had made against the episcopal order. For this purpose, he preached a sermon at Paul's cross, Feb. 8, 1588-9, in which he maintained the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, and reflected with merciless rigor on the principles and proceedings of the puritans.ⁿ Cranmer and the other founders of

^m Strype's Whitgift, i. 552, 566. App. xli. p. 216. Bancroft speaks of three or four and forty of these libels.—Dang. Positions, b. ii. c. iii. p. 46; but the efforts which were made to suppress them will

sufficiently account for their extreme scarcity.

ⁿ Strype's Annals, iii. ii. 98. Life of Whitgift, i. 559. Collier, ii. 609.

the English church regarded bishops and priests as constituting but one order, the superiority of the former being matter of convenience, and derived solely from the authority of the prince. But Bancroft maintained that they had supremacy of the clergy by divine right, and were empowered, by virtue of their commission from heaven, to superintend and regulate their proceedings. Such a claim constituted a new ground of debate, which the puritans contested with all the learning and zeal for which many of them were justly distinguished. It became the rallying point of the two parties, to the support or demolition of which they severally directed all their energies. The result, so far at least as the public mind is concerned, does not admit of doubt, for there is scarcely a dogma in the creed of any religionist which is held in more derision and contempt than that for which Bancroft pleaded.

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The puritans were not alone in their opposition to the doctrine of the archbishop's chaplain. Sir Francis Knollys, a privy counsellor, wrote to lord Burleigh on the subject, expressing his strong objections to the superiority claimed for the bishops, and pointing out the injury which it did to the queen's supremacy. He assured the lord treasurer, in a letter written in August, 1590, "that he sought not his own ambition, nor his own covetousness, as the bishops were accused to do, but he sought her majesty's safety, which could not otherwise be continued but by the maintenance of her supreme government against the false claimed superiority of bishops from God's own institution. For the pride of the bishops' claim," he added, "must be pulled down, and made subject to her majesty's supreme

Sir Francis
Knollys
opposes the
doctrine of
divine right.

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government. And that they must confess that they had no superiority of government at all, but by commission from her majesty; for otherwise their claimed superiority is treasonable to her, and tyrannous over the inferior clergy.”^o But the queen was not to be moved by the representations of her treasurer and kinsman. She therefore commanded him to desist from his opposition to the bishops, whose assumption she connived at, if she did not approve it. They were the ready and servile instruments of her pleasure in oppressing the lower clergy, and she probably thought that their efforts would be more successful if their claim of superiority were allowed. Elizabeth had little difficulty in dealing with her bishops. They were as submissive and compliant as the most arbitrary monarch could desire, and rarely questioned the propriety of her views, except when she contemplated an alienation of the revenues of their sees. On all other points they were as obsequious as the most abject of her courtiers, and did more than any other class to flatter her pride and promote her love of power. The disgusting extent to which their flattery was sometimes carried, was signally conspicuous in an address presented by the convocation in 1589, on occasion of a bill pending in the commons.

Parliament of
1589.

Like the other parliaments of this reign, that which met on the fourth of February, 1588-9, was favorable to the reformation of the church. On the twenty-fifth of February, a motion was made reflecting severely on the proceedings of the ecclesiastical rulers, as contrary to the laws, and injurious to the queen’s subjects; and two days afterwards, a bill

• Strype’s Whitgift, ii. 52.

against pluralities and non-residence was introduced and read a first time. This was subsequently laid aside, and a new one adopted, which passed through the lower house, and was sent up to the lords on the tenth of March, where the influence of the court and church party was sufficiently powerful to arrest its progress.^p

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The convocation was alarmed at the prospect of this bill passing into a law, and agreed on the following address to the queen, which was drawn up by the archbishop.

Address of
the convoca-
tion to the
queen.

“The woful and distressed state whereunto we are like to fall, forceth us, with grief of heart, in most humble manner to crave your majesty’s most sovereign protection. For the pretence being made the maintenance and increase of a learned ministry, when it is thoroughly weighed, decayeth learning, spoileth their livings, taketh away the set form of prayer in the church, and is the means to bring in confusion and barbarism. How dangerous innovations are in a settled state, whosoever hath judgment perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet such great inconveniencies may ensue as will make a state most lamentable and miserable. Our neighbours’ miseries might make us fearful, but that we know who rules the same. All the reformed churches in Europe cannot compare with England in the number of learned ministers. These benefits of your majesty’s most sacred and careful government, with hearty joy we feel and humbly acknowledge. Senseless are they that repine at it; and careless, which lightly regard it. The respect hereof made the prophet say, *Dii estis*; all the faithful and discreet clergy

^p D’Ewes’s Journal, 438, 440, 442, 444.

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say, *O ! Dea certé*. Nothing is impossible with God.”^q When the ministers of religion disgrace themselves, and insult their prince, by the employment of such language, they expose their motives to suspicion, and bring their profession into contempt.

Mr. Udal.

The archbishop was now at the height of his power. He possessed the entire confidence of his sovereign, and was intrusted with almost unlimited authority in the punishment of ecclesiastical delinquents. The rulers of the church had hitherto, for the most part, confined themselves to the infliction of deprivation and imprisonment ; but they now resolved to proceed with greater rigor, and to exact the last penalty of the law. Mr. John Udal was one of the first on whom sentence of death was passed. He had been suspended in 1586, and again in 1588, on charges of non-conformity ; after the latter of which periods he settled at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where his ministry was eminently useful. Thence he was summoned by an order of the council to London, and appeared before the commissioners at lord Cobham’s house, on January 13, 1590. He was examined respecting the authors of the Mar-prelate tracts, and of other puritan publications ; but declined to give any information which should criminate his brethren.^r His manner towards the

Appearance
before the
commission-
ers, Jan. 13,
1590.

^q Fuller’s Ch. Hist. ix. 191.

^r Udal, in the course of his examination, expressed his strong conviction that Penry was not the author of the Mar-prelate tracts. Lord Buckhurst, one of the commissioners, interrogated him on this point in the following manner.

Buckhurst. But I pray you, tell me, know you not Penry?

Udal. Yes, my lord ; that I do.

Buckhurst. And do you not know him to be Martin?

Udal. No, surely, neither do I think him to be Martin.

Buckhurst. What is your reason?

Udal. This, my lord ; when first it came out, he (understanding that some gave out that he was thought to be the author)

commissioners was firm, yet respectful. He refused the oath which they tendered him, but avowed his unshaken loyalty to the queen. "I will take," he said, "an oath of allegiance to her majesty, wherein I will acknowledge her supremacy according to statute, and promise my obedience as becometh a subject; but to swear to accuse myself or others, I think you have no law for it." The solicitor endeavoured to remove his scruples, by telling him that his answer was like that of the seminary priests, who alleged that there was no law to compel them to take the oath; when he nobly replied, in the spirit of Hampden and Pym, "Sir, if it be a liberty by law, there is no reason why they should not challenge it; for (though they be very bad ones) they are subjects, and, until they be condemned by law, may require all the benefits of subjects; neither is there any reason that their answering so should make the claim of less value for me, seeing that herein we are subjects alike, though otherwise of a most contrary disposition."^s At the close of his examination he was committed to the Gate-house, with a strict charge to the jailor not to allow him the use of pen, ink, or paper, nor to permit any person to speak with him. "Thus I remained there," he says, "half a year, in all which time my wife could not get leave to come unto me, saving only that in the hearing of the keeper she might speak to me, and I to her, of such things as he should think meet, notwithstanding that she made suit to the commissioners, yea unto the body of the

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wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he did deny it, with such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.—*A New*

Discovery of Old Pontifical Practices. 1643. p. 3.

^s *A New Discovery, &c.*, p. 5.

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Tried for
felony.

council, for some more liberty ; all which time my chamber fellows were seminary priests, traitors, and protested papists.”^t

At the expiration of this period he was indicted at Croydon, on a statute of the 23rd of Elizabeth, *for maliciously publishing a slanderous and infamous libel against the queen’s majesty, her crown and dignity.* The alleged libel was contained in a treatise entitled, *The Demonstration of Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his word for the government of the church, in all times and places, until the world’s end.* The passage on which the charge was founded, and which occurs in the dedication of the work, was the following. “ Who can, without blushing, deny you (the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodliness ; seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be anything, saving a sound Christian. For, certainly, it is more free in these days to be a papist, anabaptist, of the family of love, yea, any most wicked one whatsoever, than that which we should be ; and I could live these twenty years any such in England (yea, in a bishop’s house it may be) and never be molested for it. So true is that which you are charged with in a dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burned by you, that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities ; be it to the damnation of your own souls and infinite millions more.”^u

Mr. Udal pleaded not guilty ; on which Mr. Dalton, the queen’s counsel, undertook to prove that he was the author of the book in question, that he had a malicious intent in making it, and that the matters

^t A New Discovery, &c., p. 7.^u Strype’s Whitgift, ii. 37. Annals, iv. number 17.

contained in the indictment were felony by the statute of 23 Eliz., cap. 2.^v The formality of producing witnesses to prove the first of these points was wholly neglected; and even the written testimony of Chatfield, Tomkins, and Sharp, on which the prosecutor staked his case, was so vague and dubious as to entitle the prisoner to an acquittal. Mr. Udal contended, that if he were the author of the book, which he did not admit, and which his enemies failed to prove, the offence charged upon him did not come within the alleged statute. He grounded his defence on the obvious intent of the law, which, he maintained, from the words of the statute, was to suppress the malice of such as were evil affected towards her majesty.^w

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The judge, however, by one of those forced and unnatural interpretations of the law which formerly disgraced our courts of justice, contended that, in

^v A New Discovery, p. 10.

^w "Lastly," he says, "the end of it must be either to the defamation of the queen's majesty, or stirring up of insurrection, sedition, or rebellion. For the former, I trust that the whole course of our behaviour, both in our ministry and conversation, declareth itself to be so far from seeking to defame her highness, as it tendeth to the uttermost of our powers to the advancement of her honor. For I am persuaded that there is none of us that would refuse to undergo any pain whereby her majesty might any way be the better honored; yea, we would not refuse it if need so required, to lay down our lives for redeeming of the least aching of her majesty's little finger, wherewith she might be grieved. Now, for the second end, which is the moving or stirring of rebellion,

&c., I pray your lordships, and you of the jury, to consider this. There have been, since the first day of her majesty's reign, learned men that have desired the advancement of this cause, and many of the people that affected it, and yet hath it never appeared that by occasion hereof there hath in all this time been any, in any place, that have raised any insurrection or sedition; yea, this book which is now in question, hath been extant these two years, yet I trust, neither your lordships, nor any here present, can show that any people, in any corner of the land, nay it cannot be justly proved that any one person hath taken any occasion hereby to enterprize any such matter; and therefore the making of this book cannot be felony."—A New Discovery, &c., p. 15.

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writing against the bishops, Udal had written against the queen, and thus rendered himself obnoxious to the statute against seditious publications. "I will prove," said he, "this book to be against her majesty's person ; for her majesty being the supreme governor of all persons and causes in these her dominions, hath established this kind of government in the hands of the bishops, which thou and thy fellows so strive against ; and they being set in authority for the exercising of this government by her majesty, thou dost not strive against them, but her majesty's person, seeing they cannot alter the government which the queen hath laid upon them."^x

Sentenced to
be executed,
Feb. 1591.

The jury, in conformity with the direction of the judge, brought in a verdict of guilty, and Udal was in consequence remanded to prison, where he remained till the following February, when sentence of death was passed on him as a felon.^y In the interval he addressed a letter to serjeant Puckring, one of his judges, wherein he complains of the reports which had been circulated against him ; and entreats that he might either be released, or that the penalty of the law might speedily be inflicted. "I need not offer unto your lordship's consideration," he says, "into what miserable estate I am

^x A New Discovery, &c., p. 17.

^y Strype's Whitgift, ii. 38. The execution of this excellent man was stayed at the suggestion of the lord chancellor Hatton. His wishes were conveyed to the judge in the following brief epistle from Dr. Bancroft, his chaplain.

"Sir, My lord's advice is, that if Mr. Udal's submission do not satisfy you, that you should proceed to judgment. But that you should stay his execution ; and

forthwith, this day, to write to Mr. Vice-chamberlain of his obstinacy, desiring him to inform her majesty of it, and to know her pleasure for the execution, whether it shall be further stayed," &c.—Strype's Annals, iv. Numb. 23.

Collier, ii. 622, represents the respite as obtained by the archbishop, which the above letter, and another from Puckring to Hatton, printed by Strype, V. 4, Numb. 20, show to be incorrect.

brought, not only by being deprived of that living whereby myself, my wife, and children, should have been maintained, and spending of that little substance which God had given me in this tedious state of imprisonment, but also in the exposing of me and them unto utter beggary in the time to come. Only I pray you to call to mind in your private meditations (and that in the presence of God) by what course this misery was enforced upon me. And if you find, by due consideration, that I am worthy to receive (from the sentence of upright justice) the penalty which I do at present undergo, I pray you to hasten the execution of the same. For it were better for me to die than to live in this case, being irksome to myself, grievous to my friends, chargeable to many, and profitable unto none.”^z

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Strenuous efforts were made to induce him to sign a submission, acknowledging that in *The Demonstration of Discipline* there were false, slanderous, and seditious matters, very dangerous to the peace of the realm and church, and infinitely offensive to the queen. The lord chancellor Hatton proposed to the other lords of the privy council, that if Udal and his brethren “could be brought to relent, and confess their faults and errors,” they should be recommended to the queen for mercy;^a but he refused to purchase life by dishonor, and preferred an ignominious death to an apostasy from the principles which he held most sacred. At the same time he testified his peaceful submission to the laws of his country, as well as his love of life, by tendering the following acknowledgment, which his judges

Submission
which he
offered.^z Strype's Annals, iv. Number 24.^a Strype's Whitgift, ii. 96.

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refused. "With these three protestations I do submit myself in manner as followeth. 1. I hold the cause of discipline debated in that book to be an undoubted truth. 2. I never imagined any evil against her majesty's person or estate; but have sought to honor them both. 3. I never purposed to do or persuade anything whereby the discipline might be advanced, but by peaceable means, endeavouring to keep within the compass of law.

"I, John Udal, have been by due course of law convicted and condemned of felony, for penning and publishing a certain book called *The Demonstration of Discipline*. In the preface whereof, some matter, as also the manner of writing, I confess to be in some part so bitter and undutiful, as deserveth justly to be censured and punished; and justly offensive to the queen's most excellent majesty. Wherefore the trial of the law imputing unto me all such defects as are in that book, and laying the punishment of the same in most grievous manner upon me, and I seeing the grievousness of this offence, do most humbly, on my knees, as in the presence of God, submit myself to the mercy of her highness; being most sorry that so deep and just occasions should be given to procure her majesty's displeasure against me, promising that if it shall please God to move her royal heart to have compassion on me, a most sorrowful condemned person, that I will for ever hereafter forsake all undutiful and dangerous courses, and demean myself dutifully and peaceably, as becometh a minister of the gospel, and as a loyal subject to the queen's most excellent majesty."

His enemies dreaded the odium which would have attached to his execution. They were base enough to design his death, but they had not sufficient courage to effect it. He therefore remained in prison till the commencement of 1593; when, says Fuller, "without any other sickness, save broken hearted with sorrow, he ended his days. Right glad," he adds, "were his friends, that his death prevented his *death*; and the wisest of his foes were well contented therewith, esteeming it better that his candle should *go* than be *put out*, lest the snuff should be unsavory to the survivors, and his death be charged as a cruel act on the account of the procurers thereof."^c His case was one of extreme

printed by Strype, Annals iv., Numb. 22, differs somewhat from that which appears in the text.

^c Ch. Hist., ix. 222. Sir George Paule, in his Life of Whitgift, p. 53, affirms that the archbishop procured Udal's pardon; and Strype repeats the statement, Life of Whitgift, ii. 38, 40, 97. His interposition, to whatever extent it took place, reflected little credit on his generosity, as the following account, drawn up by Udal, will show. "Getting a pardon," he says, "framed according to the indictment, I sent it with a petition, by my wife, to the council, who referred me to the archbishop, unto whom I both sent diverse petitions and dutiful letters; and also got many of my friends, both honorable personages and others, to sue to him; yet could not his good will be gotten. At last the Turkey merchants, having my consent to go for a time into Guinea, to teach their people that abide in that place, if they could procure my liberty, sent unto him for his consent; who promised his good will, so that they would be bound that I

should go indeed, when I had my liberty. But when two of the ancients of the company went unto him for his hand thereunto, he would not yield it, unless they would be bound not only that I should go (which they were willing unto), but also that I should tarry there till I had her majesty's license to come thence.

"This condition they could not yield unto, for that I denied to go upon any such ground: so was their suit and my hope of liberty at an end; saving that one Mr. Cavell, who had been the first beginner of it, and being to go into Turkey did most affect it, moved the dean of Paul's in it, who thereupon wrote unto my lord keeper, persuading him of the convenience of that journey for me, and my fitness thereunto; which letter when he received, he did so deal with the archbishop, as they both promising at their next meeting at court, to deal with her majesty to sign my pardon, that so I might have liberty to go the voyage."^d—A New Discovery, &c., p. 43.

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 ——— commanded the respect even of his enemies. "He

ELIZ. was a learned man, blameless for his life, powerful
 in his praying, and no less profitable, than painful,
 in his preaching."^d

Cartwright
 before the
 ecclesiastical
 commission-
 ers.

1590.

Mr. Cartwright, also, was again brought into
 trouble about this time. He was summoned, to-
 gether with several of his brethren, before the
 commissioners in London, in the latter part of the
 year 1590; when thirty-one articles were objected
 against him, to which he was required to answer on
 oath. These articles charged him with renouncing

^d Fuller, ix. 222. His trial is represented by Mr. Hallam as disgracing the name of English justice. "It consisted mainly," he says, "in a pitiful attempt by the court to entrap him into a confession that the imputed libel was of his writing, as to which their proof was deficient. Though he avoided this snare, the jury did not fail to obey the directions they received to convict him. So far from being concerned in Martin's writings, Udal professed his disapprobation of them, and his ignorance of the author."—Const. Hist. i. 279, 314. Hume's condemnation is expressed in still stronger terms. "The case of Udal," he says, "a puritanical clergyman, seems singular even in those arbitrary times. This man had published a book called a *Demonstration of Discipline*, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended that the bishops were part of the queen's political body; and to speak against them, was really to attack her, and was therefore

felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine anything but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court; they only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence, which they said was never to be permitted against the crown. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose that he was not the author of the book; and his refusal to make that deposition was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that, notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal; for as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he should escape."—Hist. of England, v. 398.

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the orders of the church of England; with being reordained on the continent; with setting up a new ecclesiastical system; with not using the Book of Common Prayer; with disturbing the peace of the church; and with attending various unlawful meetings to organize and extend an opposition to the hierarchy. He was also charged with knowing the authors of the Mar-prelate and other pamphlets, and with having written, or procured the writing, of the Book of Discipline.^e He objected to the oath which was required from him, as contrary to the laws of God and man; but as some of the articles involved matters which he deemed criminal, and from the suspicion of which he was desirous of freeing his ministry, he offered to be sworn to the answers which he should return to them. "Otherwise, he said, he would never be drawn upon oath to answer, lest by his answer upon oath in this case, others might be prejudiced, who would refuse to answer upon theirs; and that if there was any article that he refused to answer upon oath, he offered to give reasons thereof, which if it would not satisfy them, he would submit himself to the punishment they should award."^f

For thus refusing to criminate himself or his brethren he was committed to the Fleet, whence he wrote to the lord treasurer, who in consequence suggested to Whitgift the propriety of his taking no part in the examination of his former antagonist.^g

^e Fuller, ix. 198. Collier, ii. 623.

^f Strype's Whitgift, ii. 26.

^g This letter, bearing date Oct. 14, 1590, evinces the same disapprobation of the archbishop's severity, as is conspicuous through-

out much of Burleigh's correspondence. ["Because," he remarks, "Cartwright now constantly affirmed to him, that he had given no cause of late years to be charged with any disorder, in his preaching or readings, he

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The puritan confessors remained in prison till the following May, when it was determined to proceed against them in the court of star-chamber. Their refusal to subject themselves to an examination on oath, perplexed their persecutors, and was regarded as a contumacious resistance of authority which it was necessary to visit with condign punishment. "It was therefore thought convenient," says Strype, "to bring them into the court of star-chamber, which had a power of inflicting severer punishments than imprisonment or deprivation."^b The law officers of the crown recommended their perpetual banishment to some remote place, and their suggestion would probably have been carried into effect if some of the queen's counsellors had not mistrusted the motives and condemned the policy of the archbishop.

In the Star-
chamber.
May, 1591.

The first appearance of Cartwright and his brethren in the star-chamber was on the 13th of May, 1591; soon after which, he was again cited before the high commissioners. In this examination he was separated from his brethren, and was called to it secretly, and without warning; his persecutors probably hoping, that if they could subdue his opposition, they should easily overcome that of his brethren. His purpose, however, was inflexible, though Aylmer and Bancroft did their utmost to induce him to comply. The former charged him

was of opinion, that it were not good in charity, nor to edification, to have so far strained upon an old charge. That his 'grace must not think that he was carried away with any particular respect for this man; or to any, to comfort them in walking disorderly. But yet he prayed his grace to

bear with his conceit, viz., that he saw not that diligence or care taken to win these kind of men that were precise, either by learning or courtesy, which, as he imagined, might reclaim them."—Strype's Whitgift, ii. 25.

^b Ibid., ii. 70.

with falsehood, and the latter with inconsistency; while the civilians, as well as the divines, suggested, in order to arouse his fears, that his refusal of the oath might be regarded as an act of rebellion against the queen. Cartwright defended himself with distinguished success; but his moderation and talent failed to subdue the hostility of his foes, and he was consequently left to the comforts of a prison, and the tender mercies of the star-chamber.ⁱ A bill was accordingly exhibited against him and eight of his brethren, specifying the misdemeanours with which they were charged. These related principally to their associations and discipline, and were substantially the same as those specified in the thirty-one articles preferred against them in the high commission court.^k They underwent several examinations, and their answers not proving satisfactory, they were detained in prison.

James, the king of Scotland, and heir to the English throne, wrote a letter to the queen on their behalf, commending their erudition and ministerial faithfulness, and earnestly entreating that they might be set at liberty. "Requesting you most earnestly," he says, "that for our cause and intercession, it may please you to let them be relieved of their present strait, and whatsoever further accusation or pursuit depending on that ground, respecting both their former merit, in setting forth the Evangel, the simplicity of their conscience in this defence which cannot well be, their let by compulsion, and the great slander which could not

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King of Scotland's letter to the queen on their behalf, June 12, 1591.

ⁱ Strype's Aylmer, pp. 105, 205. Whitgift, ii. 74.

^k Strype's Whitgift, ii. 81. This writer, in his Appendix to Whit-

gift's Life, B. iv., Numb. 4, has printed both the *Bill* and the *Answer* which was made to it by the prisoners.

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XV. such occasion.”¹

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Letter from
Cambridge to
Burleigh.
Feb. 27, 1592.

A letter was also sent to the lord treasurer from some of the heads of the University of Cambridge, complaining that many of the true friends and lovers of the gospel, who conducted themselves peaceably, were treated with greater severity than known papists, and earnestly soliciting his kind offices on their behalf.^m

Letter to
Burleigh from
Cartwright
and his brethren.
Mar. 1 159,2.

Cartwright and his fellow-prisoners, after being confined upwards of a year, petitioned the council to be released on bail; but the archbishop refused his concurrence, unless they signed a submission expressly renouncing their opinions, and condemning their ecclesiastical assemblies as unlawful and seditious.ⁿ This they declined, and applied to lord Burleigh in a letter, dated March 1, 1591-2, requesting him to procure their release without such conditions as the archbishop required. “We were bold,” they say, “in the time of your lordship’s sickness (which we have in diverse respects great cause to be sorry for), by our wives, to send our petitions to his grace of Canterbury, the copy whereof we have here inclosed. By him we were

¹ Fuller, ix. 203.

^m Strype’s Whitgift, App., B. iv. Numb. 7.

ⁿ Annals, iv., Numb. 50. Life of Whitgift, App., B. iv., N. 5. After an acknowledgment of the queen’s supremacy, this form of submission proceeded thus: “That by God’s laws, and the laws of this realm, there ought not to be any synods, conventicles, or assemblies, for the concluding or establishing of any laws, articles, ordinances, or constitutions, to be exercised, used, or put in use,

within this realm, in any spiritual or ecclesiastical matters or causes, or over any persons whatsoever, otherwise than by the queen’s majesty’s assent, or by virtue of her highness’s authority. And that all synods, conventicles, assemblies, and attempts for any innovation or alteration to be made within this realm, without her majesty’s authority and assent, of or for any ecclesiastical laws or government, are seditious and unlawful.”

directed to Mr. Attorney-general, as to one of
whom we were to receive the cautions and condi-
tions of our deliverance; which it pleaseth his
grace to term by the name of our *submission*.
Which message was grievous unto us; as that
which seemed to impose upon us a confession of
guilt in the things we are charged with.
Now, therefore, we come in most humble suit unto
your lordship, that it would please you, as hither-
towards, so now, in the shutting up of the matter,
to stand our good lord, that we may have bail,
without further drawing upon us such conditions,
as his grace's answer giveth us cause to suspect,
until such time as it shall please their honours to
call for us. For if our liberty be tied to such
conditions as we cannot undergo, unless we would
say otherwise than is truth, and burden our own
consciences before the Lord, your lordship may
easily see, in the experience of our refusal of the
oath *ex officio*, for which we have endured so long
and so heavy imprisonment, that we shall be so
far from the peace, into the hope whereof we are,
by your lordship's honourable means, and most
comfortable answer given unto our wives, lately
brought, that our bonds thereby will grow more
heavy and hard than before. If we had
transgressed some of the laws of the land, whereof
our consciences, set in the presence of God, do not
accuse us; yet, seeing it plainly appeareth by our
own answer upon oath, and by the depositions of
witnesses, both on her majesty's and our behalf,
that we had special care in our meetings to keep
ourselves in obedience to the laws, our transgres-
sion therein being of ignorance, may in honorable

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equity find the easier pardon. And although our transgression had been more grievous, we leave unto your lordship's honorable consideration, whether our so long and heavy imprisonment, being laid in balance with our fault, may not seem proportionable thereunto. There have been, since we came to prison, diverse papists, known enemies of the state, of this church and commonwealth, delivered, without revocation of any error of theirs. And it is universally granted to any, either papist or schismatic, that upon promise of coming unto the church, they may enjoy the same freedom that others of her majesty's subjects do. Our hope is, therefore, that we (which not only ourselves come to church, but labour to the utmost, both to entertain men in the fellowship of the church, and to reduce others estranged from it) shall not be more hardly dealt with than they, by enforcing any confessions or submissions, not standing with the testimony of our consciences. But this unto your lordship is, as in the proverb, *γλαῦκες εἰς Ἀθήνας*. Which is able to speak more for us in this behalf, than we for ourselves. Yet is there fallen out of late, which maketh us the bolder to importune your lordship. For it hath pleased the Almighty to visit some four or five of us, by reason of our long imprisonment and lack of convenient air, whereof some are both sore and dangerously sick; neither can the rest look for better, unless, by speedy deliverance, we meet with the mischief through the remedy, which this time of the year especially offereth." °

° Strype's Whitgift, App., B. iv. Numb. 6. This letter was signed, Thomas Cartwright, Humphrey Fen, Daniel Wyght, Edward

Lord, Melancthon Jewel, William Proudlowe, Edmund Snape, and Andrew King.

Failing in these applications, they drew up a petition to the queen, dated April, 1592, setting forth their reasons for refusing the oath required by the commissioners, and defending themselves from the charges under which they suffered. Referring to the charge of schism, they say: "We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the sight of God, that this our church, as it is by your highness's laws and authority established among us, having that faith professed and taught publicly in it that was agreed of in the convocation holden in the year 1562, and such form of public prayers and administration of the sacraments as in the first year of your most gracious reign was established (notwithstanding any thing that may need to be revised and further reformed), to be a true, visible church of Christ; from the holy communion whereof, by way of schism, it is not lawful to depart. Our own life may show the evident proof hereof; for always, before the time of our trouble, we have lived in the daily communion of it, not only as private men, but at the time of our restraint (as many years before) preached and exercised our ministry in the same, and at this present most earnestly beseech all in authority that is set over us, especially your excellent majesty, that we may so proceed to serve God and your highness all the days of our life." ^P

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Their petition
to the queen.
April, 1592.

^P Strype's Annals, iv., Numb. 60. This passage shows, with sufficient clearness, what the whole course of their history proves, that the puritans differed totally from the Brownists, in their views of the church of England. The latter regarded it as unscriptural and anti-christian, and therefore to be forsaken;

the former, as admitting of improvement, yet possessed of all the essential features of a church of Christ. The views expressed in this letter respecting *excommunication* are moderate and scriptural, and show the groundlessness of those charges which were preferred against the puritans, as interfering with the

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We know not what impression this letter made on the queen, nor how much longer the writers of it were detained in prison. There is reason to suppose that some months elapsed before Whitgift could be induced to consent to their release, on a general promise of good conduct.^a "This prelate," says Fuller, "reflecting on his (Cartwright's) abilities, and their ancient acquaintance in Trinity College; and remembering (as an honorable adversary) they had brandished pens one against another, and considering that both of them now were well stricken in years, and (some will say) fearing the success in so tough a conflict, on Mr. Cartwright's general promise to be quiet, procured his dismissal out of the star-chamber and prison wherein he was confined."^r The earliest of Cartwright's biographers gives a somewhat different account. His narrative serves at least to prevent our entertaining any very exalted notion of the arch-

civil supremacy of the crown. "For the other part," they say, "how far this censure extendeth, we profess that it depriveth a man only of spiritual comforts; as of being partaker of the Lord's table, and being present at the public prayers of the church, or such like, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government, private or public whatsoever, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life. Wherefore, from our hearts we detest and abhor that intolerable presumption of the bishop of Rome, taking upon him in such cases to depose sovereign princes from their highest seats of supreme government, and discharging their subjects from that dutiful obedience that by the laws of God they ought to perform."

^a Though released from confinement, Cartwright was bound to appear in the high commission court within twenty days of his being summoned. We learn this from his bitter antagonist, dean Sutcliffe, who says, "It was their honors' pleasure to show him great favor, and to accept of a certain submission he made, as I have heard; but that he should be quite discharged I cannot believe. For Mr. Cartwright may remember that he standeth bound to appear at any time within twenty days' warning given to him, which argueth that albeit he be dismissed upon hope of amendment, yet he is not discharged." —The Examination of Mr. Cartwright's Apologie, p. 44.

^r Church Hist., ix. 204.

bishop's generosity. "Yet was he," says Clarke, "with diverse other of the non-conformists, brought into the high commission court, where, for refusal of the oath *ex officio*, they were clapt up in prison, and afterwards proceeded against in the star-chamber; but it pleased God so to order it by his providence, that those very witnesses which were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were dismissed, and sent home much more honored and beloved than they were before." ^s

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Cartwright returned to his hospital at Warwick; but many of his brethren were deprived of their benefices, and some remained in prison. The stand which they made for the liberty of the subject, should endear their names to posterity, and may well protect them from the malignant and ferocious assaults to which their character has been subjected from party writers. It partakes as little of justice as of generosity, to trace with a microscopic eye the imperfections of men, to whose patriotic exertions England is so deeply indebted.^t

^s Lives, &c., p. 18. Undue praise has been awarded to the archbishop for his concurrence in the discharge of Cartwright. "Putting all the circumstances together," remarks Mr. Hanbury, "and weighing them deliberately, no fair inference can be deduced that Cartwright was indebted for any voluntary favor from Whitgift. Sutcliffe's information shows that the release was on bond, being the act of several of their 'honors;' and the archbishop's assent after the affair of Cawdrej, with the hint concerning the danger of the 'premunire,' and the growing influence of public opi-

nion, might induce his grace to join his assent for the conditional liberation of Cartwright and his fellow-prisoners, without their being entitled to any claim of favor or merit for what was become expedient."—Life of Cartwright, p. 200.

^t Some of the puritan ministers must be excepted from this praise, who, through fear, or a worse motive, took the oath *ex officio*, and thus purchased freedom at the risk of their brethren's safety. —Fuller, ix. 206. Strype's Whitgift, ii. 91. App., B. iv., Numb. 9 & 10.

CHAPTER XVI.

Case of Mr. Cawdrey—Puritans not implicated with Hacket—Parliament of 1593—Act against the Brownists—Execution of Brownists—Thacker and Copping—Barrow and Greenwood—Penry—Imprisonment of Brownists—Their Petition to the Council—To Lord Burleigh—Execution of Brownists stayed—Their Banishment—Principles of the Sect.

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Case of Mr.
Cawdrey.

THE rigorous proceedings of the commissioners naturally drew attention to the constitution of their court, and led men to inquire into the legality of the powers which they exercised. Mr. Cawdrey, the minister of South Luffingham, in Rutlandshire, having been deprived of his living, and degraded from the ministry, by the commissioners, proceeded in the court of Exchequer against the chaplain of the bishop of Peterborough, who had been put in possession of his benefice. Dr. Aubrey, a civilian, and one of the commissioners, acknowledged that their proceedings were not warranted by the letter of the statute of supremacy, but maintained that they were justified by the old canon law, which he argued was still in force. The judges, however, before whom Mr. Cawdrey's case was argued, in

Hilary term, 1591, confirmed the sentence of the high commission court, and left him, with his numerous family, dependant on the care of Providence, and the charity of his friends. Though Mr. Cawdrey failed to obtain the redress which he sought; his bold resistance of ecclesiastical tyranny was not without effect. The archbishop dreaded its imitation, and fearing that the honor of his court might ultimately suffer, he henceforth prudently proceeded against most of his prisoners in the star-chamber. "

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The affairs of the puritans were much prejudiced by the seditious and fanatical proceedings of Hacket, and his two prophets, Arthington and Coppinger. These men were enthusiasts of the worst class; the first assuming to be Jesus Christ, and the others to be two prophets, sent of God to assist him in his undertaking. Arthington and Coppinger, at the cross in Cheapside, proclaimed Hacket king of Europe, and affirmed that the queen had forfeited her crown, and deserved to be deposed. They were speedily arrested, and on the 26th of July, 1591, Hacket was tried on two indictments, to the first of which he pleaded guilty. He was sentenced to die, and his conduct at the place of execution concurs with his previous deportment in establishing the fact of his insanity. " Coppinger

The puritans
not implicated
in Hacket's
conspiracy.

" Strype's Aylmer, chap. viii. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, page 316. Neal, i. 420. Strype and Neal represent Cawdrey as refusing the oath which the commissioners tendered to him; but Mr. Brook affirms that he afterwards complied.—Lives of Puritans, i. 430.

" One object of Dr. Cosins' publication was to disprove the

fact of Hacket's madness, this being necessary to the use which the high church party wished to make of his crimes. But the information which he supplies is much better evidence of the fact, than his reasoning is conclusive against it. Camden gives the following account of the manner in which he conducted himself at his execution, from which

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starved himself to death in Bridewell, and Arth-
ington is reported to have been pardoned by the
council. As these men had been in correspondence
with some of the puritan ministers, the enemies of
the latter took occasion to represent them as ac-
quainted with their plots. Dr. Cosins, dean of the
Arches, and Official Principal to archbishop Whit-
gift, published a treatise, the professed design of
which was to warn the people of the evils of heresy
and schism, but which was really intended to in-
volve the leading puritans in the odium and guilt
of Hacket's conspiracy. Cartwright wrote in de-
fence of himself and his brethren, and their inno-
cence was practically admitted by the fact, that no
legal measures were taken against them. "True
it is," says Fuller, one of the most honest and can-
did of our historians, "they as cordially detested
his blasphemies as any of the episcopal party;
and such of them as loved Hacket the noncon-
formist, abhorred Hacket the heretic, after he had
mounted to so high a pitch of impiety. But (be-
sides the glutenous nature of all aspersions, to stick

but one inference can be
drawn respecting his sanity.
"Being condemned, he was laid
upon a hurdle, and drawn to the
chief street of the city, inces-
santly roaring out with a dread-
ful sound, 'Jehovah Messias,
Jehovah Messias, behold the hea-
ven open, behold the Son of the
Most High descending down to
deliver me.' At the gallows, being
admonished to acknowledge his
sin against God and the queen,
the execrable wretch cried out,
with a stentor's voice, inveighing
most contumeliously against the
queen, 'O heavenly God, Almighty
Jehovah, Alpha and Omega, Lord
of lords, King of kings, God ever-
lasting, thou knowest that I am

the true Jehovah whom thou hast
sent; show some miracle out of
the cloud to convert these infi-
dels, and take me from mine en-
emies. But if not, I will set the
heavens on fire, and pluck thee
out of thy throne with these
hands;' and other speeches he
used more unspeakable. Turning
him to the hangman, as he was
putting the rope to him, 'Thou
bastard (said he), wilt thou then
hang Hacket, thy king?' Having
the rope about his neck, he lift
up his eyes to heaven, and grin-
ning, said, 'Dost thou repay me
this for a kingdom bestowed? I
come to revenge it.'"—Annals,
1591, p. 30.

where they light) they could not wash his *odium* so fast from themselves, but their adversaries were as ready to rub it on again. This rendered them at this time so hated at court, that for many months together no favorite durst present a petition in their behalf to the queen, being loath to lose himself to save others, so offended was her majesty against them.”^w

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Parliament again met on the 19th of February, 1592-3, when strenuous efforts were made to check the unconstitutional proceedings of the high commission court, and to effect the release of those who were imprisoned for refusing the *ex officio* oath.

Parliament
of 1593.

Mr. Morrice, attorney of the court of Wards, on the 27th of February called the attention of the house to the severities practised by the bishops and other ecclesiastical judges, against “learned and godly ministers and preachers of the realm, by way of inquisition, subscription, and binding absolution, contrary to the honor of God, the regality of her majesty, the laws of this realm, and the liberty of the subjects of the same. They were compelled,” he said, “upon their own oaths, to accuse themselves in their own private actions, words, and thoughts, if they shall take such oaths; because

^w Church Hist., ix. 206. Neither Heylin nor Collier is willing to acquit Cartwright and other puritans of being implicated in the proceedings of these mad enthusiasts. The surmises on which these writers rely are, however, utterly unable to sustain the charge which they make.—Hist. of the Presby., 309. Eccles. Hist., ii. 632.

The simple fact that none of the puritans were proceeded against, proves the absence of any thing

like evidence against them. For in the temper of the court, and with the known inclination of juries in crown prosecutions, no hesitation could have been felt to adopt this course if the semblance of proof had been possessed. Cartwright and his brethren were at this time in prison, and it is justly remarked by Mr. Neal, that if there “had been any ground for this vile charge, we should, no doubt, have found it among their articles of impeachment.”—i. 423.

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they know not to what questions they shall answer till after the time they be sworn. If they took the oath, they were deprived on their own confessions; and if they refused it, they were imprisoned as obstinate and contumacious." At the close of his speech, he offered to the speaker two bills for the correction of the evils he had deprecated, and requested that one of them, concerning the imprisonment of ministers refusing the oath of the ecclesiastical commissioners, might be read.^x Sir Francis Knollys supported the motion, as tending to the reform of abuses, and to the restraint of the prelates; but it was opposed by other members, and was at last committed to the speaker for his careful inspection.^y

The queen incensed with their proceedings.

The queen was highly incensed with the parliament for entertaining such a motion; and, sending for the speaker, sir Edward Coke, she told him, "It is in me and my power to call parliaments, it is in my power to end and determine the same, it is in my power to assent or dissent to any thing done in parliament. She wondered that any could be of so high commandment to attempt a thing so expressly contrary to that which she had forbidden. "Wherefore," said the speaker, in his report to the house, "with this she was highly offended; and her majesty's present charge and express commandment is, that no bill touching the said matters of

^x The situation held by Mr. Morrice was in the gift of the crown, which sets his conduct both on this and on other occasions, in a remarkably honorable light. He was the legal adviser of Mr. Cawdrey in his opposition to the sentence of the high com-

mission court, and was the author of an able treatise against the oath *ex officio*, which gave the archbishop much offence. — Strype's Whitgift, ii. 23.

^y D'Ewes' Journal, 474-476. Strype's Whitgift, ii. 123.

state, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited. And upon my allegiance, I am commanded, if any such bill be exhibited, not to read it." ^z

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The parliament submitted to this invasion of its privileges, and Mr. Morrice was seized in the house by a serjeant-at-arms, discharged from his office in the court of the dutchy of Lancaster, disabled from practising his profession, and confined for some years in Tutbury Castle. ^a

An iniquitous and oppressive statute was also passed this session against the Brownists. When first introduced, it was designed to operate against the papists, but having undergone various modifications in its passage through the two houses, it was ultimately wrought into a shape totally different from what it originally sustained. ^b Though the house had clearly evinced its disposition to redress the wrongs of the puritans, it possessed but little sympathy with the more violent sectaries, who

Act against
the Brownists.

^z D'Ewes' Journal, 478. Mr. Neal very justly censures this parliament for submitting "so tamely to the insults of an arbitrary court." But bishop Maddox commends their loyalty. "Happy for Great Britain," he says, "that there was no quarrel at this juncture, between the queen and parliament; and that our forefathers were not so ready to oppose their prince, as the author of the History of the Puritans wishes they had been." — Vindication, &c., 357. So unblushingly could this writer consent to sacrifice the liberty of his country, for the maintenance of the authority of his church.

^a Neal, i. 425. In an earlier part of the session, Mr. Peter Wentworth was committed to the

Tower, and three other members to the Fleet, for moving the house to address the queen to name her successor. On the 10th of March, a motion was made by Mr. Wroth, that an humble and earnest suit should be presented for their release, when, says the journalist, "All the privy counsellors answered, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and for us to press her majesty with this suit, we should but hinder them whose good we seek." Mr. Wentworth remained a prisoner for several years. — D'Ewes's Journal, pp. 470, 497. Heylin's Presbyterians, 319.

^b D'Ewes's Journal, pp. 476, 497, 500, 503, 513, 517, 519, 520. Parl. Hist., i. 863.

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denounced the constitution, and seceded from the worship of the church. These were as yet regarded with suspicion and dread, even by many who complained of the secularity and felt the intolerance of the bishops. So rapid had been the progress of sentiment, that Cartwright was now in the rear of many of his contemporaries, and was regarded as the head of the more moderate puritans. He had been censured by his predecessors for denouncing the episcopal order, and for addressing himself to the parliament for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses; but while he remained stationary, others passed onward, and advocated opinions in comparison with which his were moderate and tame. This circumstance explains the fact, which would otherwise be unaccountable, that this parliament should pass a law so foreign from the temper of many of its debates, and so contrary to the example of all its predecessors. The law was directed, not against the puritans, but the Brownists. The former would have been favoured, the latter were denounced. The one party were regarded as a conscientious body, whose scruples were entitled to respect, and whose labors were eminently useful to the church; the other were condemned as reckless adventurers, whose principles were destructive of religion, and subversive of the commonwealth. Even sir Walter Raleigh, who hesitated about the propriety of passing this bill, could adopt the following language respecting the parties against whom it was directed. "In my conceit, the Brownists are worthy to be rooted out of a commonwealth. But what danger may grow to ourselves if this law pass, it were fit to be considered.

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For it is to be feared, that men not guilty will be included in it. And that law is hard that taketh life and sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions shall be judged by a jury, and they shall be judges what another means. But that law that is against a fact, is but just; and punish the fact as severely as you will. If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea, at whose charge shall they be transported, or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it, I am afraid there is near twenty thousand of them in England, and when they be gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?"^c The bill, as finally adopted, was entitled, "*An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience*," and enacted, "That if any person, above the age of sixteen years, shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common-prayer, to hear divine service, or shall forbear to do the same for the space of a month without lawful cause, or shall at any time, after forty days from the end of this session, by printing, writing, or express words, purposely practise, or go about to move or persuade any of her majesty's subjects, or any others, within her highness's dominions, to deny, withstand, or impugn her majesty's power and authority, in causes ecclesiastical; or to that end

^c D'Ewes's Journal, 517. In another stage of the bill, the vice-chamberlain proposed a conference with the lords, "for the better effecting of a convenient law to be provided for meeting with the disordered Barrowists and Brownists, without peril of entrapping honest and loyal subjects." — Ibid., 519. Neither Mr. Neal

nor Mr. Brook has noticed the avowed design of this law; and their readers, consequently, have some difficulty in reconciling it with the view which these gentlemen correctly give of the general disposition of the parliaments of this reign.—Strype's Whitgift, ii. 191.

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and purpose shall advisedly or maliciously move or persuade any other person whatsoever from coming to church to hear divine service or to receive the communion according to her majesty's laws, or to be present at any unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion contrary to her majesty's laws; that then, every such person so offending, and thereof lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till they shall conform, and yield themselves to some church, chapel, or usual place of common-prayer, and hear divine service, and make such open submission and declaration of their conformity, as by this Act is afterwards appointed." ^d

Those who refused to make the submission which this statute required, were to abjure the realm, and go into perpetual banishment; and such as remained beyond the specified time, or returned without license from the queen, were to suffer death as felons.

Execution of
Brownists,

The sufferings of the separatists were now great. They were given over as a prey to their enemies, whose intolerance and cruelty, when prevented

^d Collier, ii. 636. The form of submission enjoined by this statute was the following: I do humbly confess and acknowledge, that I have grievously offended God, in contemning her majesty's godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church, and from hearing divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm; and in using and frequenting disordered and unlawful conventicles and assemblies, under pretence and color of exercise of religion. And I am

heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience, that no other person hath, or ought to have, any power or authority over her majesty; and I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation, or any color or means of any dispensation, that from henceforth I will from time to time obey and perform her majesty's laws and statutes, in repairing to the church and hearing divine service, and do mine uttermost endeavour to maintain and defend the same.

from shedding their blood, drove them as exiles into a foreign land. So early as the year 1583, two of their number had been executed in Bury St. Edmunds, for dispersing some of Brown's books, in which the ecclesiastical supremacy of the queen was denied. The names of these martyrs were Elias Thacker and John Coping. They were indicted on the statute of the 23d of Elizabeth, and died in the firm belief and consistent profession of their sentiments.^e Two or three years afterwards, John Greenwood and Henry Barrow, the former a divine, and the latter a lawyer, were committed to prison as zealous Brownists.^f In November, 1587, having been in prison some time, they were brought before the high commissioners for holding and propagating schismatical and seditious doctrines, of which the following are represented as the chief. That the church of England is not a true church ; that its worship is idolatrous, its members unsanctified, its ministers without lawful calling, and its government ungodly ; that the people of every parish ought to choose their bishop ; and that every elder, though he be no doctor or pastor, is a bishop ; that all the preciser nonconformists, who refused the ceremonies of the church, strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, and are no better than hypocrites ; that all who make or expound any printed or written catechisms are idle shepherds ; that the children of usurers, drunkards, and such ungodly parents, ought not to be baptized ; and that praying by a form is blasphemous.^g Many of these opinions are to be

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Thacker and
Coping.
1583.Barrow and
Greenwood.

^e Fuller, ix. 169.
Annals, iii. i. 269.

Strype's

the name of this eminent champion of their cause.

^f The Brownists were frequently called Barrowists, after

^g Collier, ii. 638. Heylin's Hist. of Presby., 322.

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condemned for their narrowness and illiberality, and must have served to prejudice the public mind against others of them which are well entitled to respect and confidence. It has been the infelicity of religion in every age to be exhibited in a distorted and mangled form. Where its principles have been fairly exhibited, its spirit has frequently been wanting, so that a pretext has been supplied to the worldly and the selfish, for repelling its advance, and persecuting its advocates. This was signally the case with the earlier Brownists, and their enemies did not fail to employ it to their disadvantage. At the same time it should be remembered that the errors for which they are censured were the natural growth of their circumstances. Persecuted by churchmen, and defamed by the puritans, they looked with suspicion on the religious profession of others, and denounced as unscriptural and antichristian the communities in which that profession was accredited. Their temper was soured by oppression. They looked at the religious world through the medium of their own sufferings; and feeling that these were unmerited, they challenged the integrity of those by whom they were inflicted or approved. This was not unnatural, however it may be regretted; and every candid mind, in condemning their asperity and uncharitableness, will remember their provocations and wrongs. Heylin and Collier represent Barrow and Greenwood as having been released on a promise to recant their obnoxious opinions. If it were so, of which however no sufficient evidence is adduced, they were speedily recommitted, and were detained in prison for several years.^b They under-

^b Strype represents their imprisonment as taking place 1590; but Heylin and Collier assign it to the year 1588. Barrow, in a

went various examinations, in all of which they firmly maintained their sentiments. Several pamphlets were issued during their confinement, in which their character was aspersed and their opinions misrepresented. Answers to these were speedily published, which were generally attributed to Barrow and Greenwood. They partook of the excellencies and of the defects which belonged to their school, exhibiting correct views of the constitution of the church, but reflecting with unwarrantable asperity on the character of the bishops.

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On the 21st of March, 1592-3, they were indicted with three others at the Old Bailey, on the 23rd of Elizabeth, for writing seditious pamphlets and books tending to the slander of the queen and her government.¹ Throughout their trial they behaved with great resolution and constancy; and when sentenced on the 23rd to die, "None of them," says the attorney-general, in an account which he forwarded to the lord keeper Puckring, "showed any token of recognition, and of their offences, and prayer of mercy for the same, saving Bellot alone, who desired conference, and to be informed of his errors, and with tears affirmed himself to be sorry that he had been misled. The others pretended loyalty and obedience to her majesty, and endeavoured to draw all that they had maliciously written and pub-

Indicted for
felony,
Mar. 21, 1593.

letter written after his condemnation, affirms that their imprisonment had lasted nearly six years. *An Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists.*—Ed. 1604. pp. 90, 92.

¹ "Though Barrow and his fellow Greenwood," says Hugh Broughton, "were condemned for disturbance of the state, this

would have been pardoned, and their lives spared, if they would have promised to come to church." —Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 188. Such was now the delusive policy of the rulers of the church. They prosecuted for one offence, in order to punish for another: thus hoping to preserve themselves from odium, and their courts from the searching spirit of reform.

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ELIZ.

lished against her majesty's government, to the bishops and ministers of the church only, and as not meant against her highness; which being most evident against them, and so found by the jury, yet not one of them made any countenance of submission, but rather persisted in that they were convicted of."j The day after their condemnation, they were commanded to prepare immediately for execution. Being brought out of prison, their irons were taken off, and they were about to be bound to the cart which was to convey them to Tyburn, when a reprieve arrived. During the interval thus afforded, the bishops endeavoured to induce them to recant. "They sent unto us," says Barrow, "certain doctors and deans to exhort and confer with us. We showed how they had neglected the time; we had been well nigh six years in their prisons; never refused, but always humbly desired of them Christian conference, for the peaceable discussing and deciding our differ-

j Strype's Whitgift, ii. 187. In a letter which Barrow wrote to a lady of quality after his condemnation, he gives the following account of his indictment and defence. "For these books, written more than three years since, after well near six years' imprisonment sustained at their hands, have these prelates, by their vehement suggestions and accusations, caused us to be now indicted, arraigned, condemned, for writing and publishing seditious books, upon the statute made the 23d of her majesty's reign. Their accusations were drawn into these heads.

1. That I should write and publish the queen's majesty to be unbaptized.

2. The state to be wholly corrupted from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, in the laws, judgments, judges,

customs, &c.; so that none that feared God could live in peace.

3. That all the people in the land are infidels.

To these indictments I answered generally, that either they were mistaken, or else misconstrued; that neither in my meaning, matter, or words, any such crime could justly be found. My meaning being just and without evil towards any man, much more towards my sovereign and the state, whom I from the heart honored. The matters being merely ecclesiastical, controverted betwixt this clergy and us. My words being either in answer to their slanders, or in assertion of such things as I hold; that if I had offended in any of my words, it was rather casual through haste than of any evil intent." — *An Apologie or Defence, &c.*, p. 91.

ences, but could never obtain it at their hands. CHAP. XVI.
Neither did these men all this time come unto us, or ELIZ.
desire any such matter ; that our time was now short
in this world, neither were we to bestow it unto con-
troversies, so much as unto more profitable and
comfortable considerations. Yet if they desired to
have any conference with us, they were to get our
lives respited thereunto. Then if they would join
unto us two other of our brethren in their prisons,
whom we named unto them, we then gladly would
condescend to any Christian and orderly conference
by the scriptures, with such or so many of them as
should be thought meet.”^k

On the last day of March, at an early hour, they
were secretly conveyed to the place of execution,
“where being tied by the necks to the tree,” they
were permitted to address the people. In this awful
situation they solemnly protested their loyalty and
innocence, and expressed their sorrow if any word
or sentence had escaped from them which was
calculated to give offence. They exhorted the
people to obedience and to hearty love of their
prince ; and requested for their own writings, that
they might be received only so far as they agreed
with the word of God. They then craved pardon
of all whom they had offended, expressed their for-
giveness of others, prayed for the queen, the magis-
trates, the people, and their enemies ; and were
about to compose themselves to die, when a reprieve
again arrived.¹

From this second reprieve they indulged the hope
that their lives would be spared ; but in this they

Executed
April 6,

^k An Apologie or Defence, &c.,
p. 92. Strype's Whitgift, ii. 187.

¹ Apologie, &c., p. 93.

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ELIZ.

were disappointed, for on the 6th of April they were again taken to Tyburn, where they died, the victims of an intolerance which sought to conceal its baseness under the disguise of loyalty.^m

John Penry
apprehended
May, 1593.

In the following month, John Penry was apprehended at Stepney. He had long been obnoxious to the archbishop and clergy, who now sought his death with the eagerness of infuriated and malignant partizans. He had appeared before the ecclesiastical commission in 1587, when he was examined on some opinions which he had broached concerning the homilies and reading ministers.ⁿ On the appearance of the Mar-prelate tracts, he was suspected to be their author; and a warrant having been issued for his apprehension, he withdrew to Scotland, where he remained till 1593. During his residence in that country he committed to writing many observations respecting religion, and drew out the heads of a petition which he purposed to present to the queen. These he brought with him in the early part of 1593 to Stepney, where he concealed himself; but being discovered by the vicar of that parish, he was apprehended, and his papers were seized.^o It was at first designed to indict him for the works published in his name; but he drew up a declaration, dated May 16, 1593, in which he showed that he could not legally be proceeded against for these on the statute of the 23rd of Elizabeth.^p His persecutors appear to have felt the con-

Tried and
condemned.

^m Of the three who were condemned with Barrow and Greenwood, Mr. Daniel Studley was sent into perpetual banishment; and the other two, Scipio Bellot

and Robert Bowle, died in Newgate.—An Apologie, &c., 95.

ⁿ Strype's Annals, iii. ii. 94.

^o Whitgift, ii. 176. Heylin's Presby., 325.

^p Strype's Whitgift, ii. 181.

clusiveness of his reasoning, and it was therefore determined to make the *Observations and Petition* which had been found amongst his private papers, the ground of his prosecution. He was accordingly tried on the 21st, and on the 25th was sentenced to die as a felon. He deeply felt the hardness of his case, which he represented in a letter to the lord treasurer, written the day after his conviction. "Vouchsafe, I beseech your lordship," he says, "to read and duly weigh the writing herein inclosed.^a

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ELIZ.

Letter to the
lord treasurer.

^a The writing here referred to was his *Protestation*, drawn up, as Mr. Hallam justly remarks, "in a style of the most affecting and simple eloquence." In this paper he states, that his *Observations* were mere notes hurriedly made, of objections which he had heard in Scotland, against the queen's government; and which he had designed to have examined at leisure, and to have made the grounds of a brief treatise to be delivered into her majesty's hands.

"In these my intercepted writings," he says, "which are now brought against me, containing in them not only a particular record of my daily corruptions, for and against the which I craved mercy and strength at the Lord's hands; but also of all the special sins whereof my conscience could accuse me in all my life, even unto the day of my coming out of Scotland; it will easily appear whether my soul was ever privy unto any offence committed by me against her majesty; save only this (whereof I there complain), namely, that I was not so careful in praying for her preservation and welfare as I desired and laboured to have been. And yet, I thank the Lord, I remember not that that day hath passed over my head, since under her government I first came unto the knowledge

of the truth, wherein I have not commended her estate unto his *Majesty*. I deal in these my most secret papers without guile; as in his sight, whom I know to be the revealer of secrets, and at hand. I craved the healing of a bruised conscience. Wherefore it concerned me not to collude with him, though I might do the same with man. Such dealing might well augment the intolerable burden of my wearied soul; but cure my wound it could not. And therefore I may truly say, if ever I had been guilty of any such crime, that there it would have been set down, even when I poured the very secrets of my heart before the mercy seat of the *Ever Living*.

"Well, I may be indicted, arraigned, condemned, and end the days of my wearisome pilgrimage as a felon, yea, or traitor against my natural sovereign; but I thank my God, heaven and earth shall not be able to convict me thereof. . . . And I thank God, that whensoever an end of my days comes, as I look not to live this week to an end, mine innocency shall benefit so much, as I shall die queen Elizabeth's most faithful subject, even in the conscience of my very adversaries themselves, if they will be the beholders thereof. . . . I am a poor young man, born and

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My days, I see, are drawing to an untimely, and I thank God, an undeserved end, except the Lord my God shall stir up your honor, or some other, to plead my cause, and to acquaint her majesty with my guiltless estate. How clear I am of that heinous crime especially now intended against me, this my writing doth declare.

“The cause is most lamentable that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life, with blood, unto a violent end ; especially seeing they are most private, and so imperfect, as they have no coherence at all in them,

bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first since the last springing up of the gospel in this latter age, that publicly laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains. I have often rejoiced before my God, as he knoweth, that I had the favour to be born and live under her majesty, for the promoting of this work. In the earnest desire I had to see the gospel planted in my native country, and the contrary corruptions removed, I might well, as I confess in my published writings, with Hegetorides the Thracian, forget mine own danger ; but my loyalty to my prince did I never forget. . . .

“That brief confession of my faith and allegiance unto the Lord and her majesty, written since my imprisonment, and delivered to the worshipful Mr. Justice Young, I take, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ and the elect angels, to contain nothing but God’s eternal verity in it. And therefore, if my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them all, by the help of the Lord, for the maintenance of the same my

confession. Yet if any error can be showed therein, that will I not maintain. Otherwise, far be it, that either the saving of an earthly life, the regard which in nature I ought to have to the desolate outward state of a poor friendless widow and four poor fatherless infants, whereof the eldest is not above four years old, which I am to leave behind me, or any other outward thing, should enforce me, by the denial of God’s truth, contrary unto my conscience, to leese mine own soul. The Lord, I trust, will never give me over unto this sin. . . . And content I am, and shall be, with my undeserved and untimely death ; beseeching the Lord that it be not laid unto the charge of any creature in this land. For I do from my heart forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in the day of strict account ; praying for them, as for mine own soul, that although upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity ; where all controversies shall be at an end.”—*Strype’s Whitgift, App., b. iv. Numb. 18.*

and in most places carry no true English. If I may
 crave so much favour of your lordship, as to procure
 that her majesty, before I be farther proceeded with,
 may be acquainted with this true testimony of the
 affection and loyalty which I have ever carried to-
 wards her highness, I shall entreat the Lord that
 you may not want your reward for this work. I
 know there is none that can take hold of me; and
 yet I refer myself wholly to her determination, and
 will be contented with the sentence which the Lord
 shall move her to give me.

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“Though mine innocency may stand me in no
 stead before an earthly tribunal, yet I know that I
 shall have the reward thereof before the judgment
 seat of the great King. And the merciful Lord, who
 relieveth the widow and fatherless, will reward my
 desolate orphans and friendless widow that I leave
 behind me, and even hear their cry, for he is
 merciful.

“Being likely to trouble your lordship with no
 more letters, I do with thankfulness acknowledge
 your honor’s favor towards me, in that you have
 been always open to receive the writings which I
 have presumed to send unto you from time to time.
 And in this my last, I protest before the Lord God,
 that I have written nothing but truth unto your
 lordship in any of my letters, that I know of.

“Thus preparing myself, not so much for an un-
 just verdict, and an undeserved doom in this life, as
 unto that blessed crown of glory which, of the great
 mercy of my God, is ready for me in heaven, I
 humbly betake your lordship unto the hands of the
 just Lord.”^r

^r Strype’s Whitgift, ii. 184.

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ELIZ.

Three days after the writing of this letter, he was unexpectedly summoned from his dinner to the place of execution. He was forbidden to speak to the people, or to make any declaration of his faith towards God, and loyalty to the queen.⁵ He died as he had lived, in the consistent expression of Christian principles, and in the confident hope of the glory of his Lord and Master. It is scarcely possible to conceive of a more iniquitous course than that which was adopted in his case. Had his published works contained seditious matters, they would have brought him within the operation of the statute of the 23rd of this reign, and his enemies would gladly have employed them to accomplish their design. But by grounding the prosecution on his private papers, they exonerated him from the other and more serious charge of having published treason, and thus involved themselves in the odium of a measure, the iniquity of which has rarely been exceeded. As in the case of Barrow and Greenwood, his only crime was disaffection to the hierarchy. This was his unpardonable sin, for which the archbishop would admit of no other expiation than the shedding of his blood. "He was apprehended," says the publisher of his posthumous work, "adjudged, and executed, for writing for the truth of Christ, whatsoever other things were pretended against him."

Brownists
imprisoned.

Numerous other persons, of the same persuasion as Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, were confined in the prisons about London, the amount of whose sufferings can be but very partially estimated. A congregation of Brownists had been accustomed, for some time, to assemble for divine worship in

⁵ Heylin's Presby., 326. Collier, ii. 640.

various places about the city and its suburbs. A church was formed, Mr. Francis Johnson being chosen pastor, Mr. Greenwood, doctor or teacher, Messrs. Bowman and Lee, deacons, and Messrs. Studley and Kniston, elders.[†] In the summer they frequently met in the fields, where, sitting upon a bank, they expounded the Bible to each other. During the winter they assembled at five o'clock in the morning, in some house, and continued in prayer and exposition of the scriptures all day. They dined together, after which a collection was made to pay for their diet, and to supply the wants of their brethren in prison.[‡] They were at length discovered at Islington, in the very apartment which had been occupied by a protestant congregation during the reign of Mary; and upwards of fifty of them were apprehended and committed to prison. Their adversaries charged them with various extravagances, from most of which they successfully vindicated themselves. In a petition to the privy council, they bitterly complained of the treatment which they received from the bishops. "The dealing of the prelates of this land," they say, "has been for a long time most injurious, unlawful, and outrageous with us, by the great power and high authority they have gotten into their hands, and usurped above all the public courts, judges, laws, and charters of this land, persecuting, imprisoning, and detaining at their pleasures, our poor bodies, without any trial, release, or bail; and hitherto, without any cause either for error or crime directly objected. And some of us they have now more than five years in prison; yea, four of these

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Their petition
to the council.[†] Strype's Annals, iv. 245. [‡] Ibid., iii. ii. 103.

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five years in close prison with miserable usage, as Henry Barrow and John Greenwood now in the Fleet; others they have cast into their limbo of Newgate, laden with as many irons as they could bear; others into the dangerous and loathsome jail, among the most facinorous and vile persons, where it is lamentable to relate how many of these innocents have perished within these five years; and of these, some aged widows, aged men, and young maidens, &c.; where so many as the infection hath spared lie in woful distress, like to follow their fellows, if speedy redress be not had. Others of us have been grievously beaten with cudgels in Bridewell; and cast into a place called *little ease* there, for refusing to come to their chapel service; in which prison several have ended their lives; but upon none of our companions thus committed by them, and dying in their prison, is any search or inquest suffered to pass, as by law in like case is provided. Their manner of pursuing and apprehending us is with no less violence and outrage. Their pursuivants, with their assistants, break into our houses at all times of the night. There they break up, ransack, rifle, and make havoc, at their pleasure, under pretence of searching for seditious and unlawful books. The husbands, in the deep of the night, they have plucked out of their beds from their wives, and haled them to prison.”^v

Petition to
Burleigh.

A petition was also sent to the lord treasurer, signed by fifty-nine prisoners, and having appended to it the names of ten others already deceased in consequence of their confinement, in which they say, “Pleaseth it then your lordship to understand,

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that we, her majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true-hearted subjects, to the number of threescore persons and upwards, have, contrary to all law and equity, been imprisoned, separate from our trades, wives, and children, and families; yea, shut up close prisoners from all comfort; many of us the space of two years and a half, upon the bishops' sole commandment, in great penury and noisomeness of the prisons; many ending their lives, never called to trial; some haled forth to the sessions; some cast in irons and dungeons; some in hunger and famine; all of them debarred from any lawful audience before our honorable governors and magistrates, and from all benefit and help of the laws; daily defamed, and falsely accused, by published pamphlets, private suggestions, open preaching, slanders, and accusations of heresy, sedition, schism, and what not. And above all (which most utterly toucheth our salvation), they keep us from all spiritual comfort and edifying by doctrine, prayer, or mutual conference, &c. And seeing for our conscience only we are deprived of all comfort, we most humbly beseech your good lordship, that some more mitigated and peaceable course might be taken herein; that some free and Christian conference, publicly or privately before your honor, or before whom it would please you, where our adversaries may not be our judges; but our case, with the reason and proof on both sides, might be recorded by indifferent notaries and faithful witnesses. And if any thing be found in us worthy of death or bonds, let us be made an example to all posterity. If not, we entreat for some compassion to be shown in equity, according to law, for our relief. That in the mean time we

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may be bailed, to do her majesty service, walk in our callings, to provide things needful for ourselves, our poor wives, disconsolate children, and families relying on us, &c. Or else, that we might be prisoners together in Bridewell, or any other convenient place at your honor's appointment; where we might provide such relief by our diligence and labours as might preserve life to the comfort both of our souls and bodies. And if your honor will not of yourself grant us this suit, yet we most humbly entreat your honor will make the rest of her majesty's most honorable privy-council acquainted with our distressed estate, and together grant us some present redress."

Inscription on
the coffin of
Roger Rippon
1592.

Amongst those who died in prison was Roger Rippon, on whose coffin the following inscription was written by his fellow-sufferers. "This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty's faithful subject: who is the last of sixteen or seventeen, which that great enemy of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, with his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate, within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord; and his blood crieth for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young (a justice of peace in London), who in this and many the like points, hath abused his power for the upholding of the Romish antichrist, prelacy and priesthood." ^w

Many copies of this inscription were dispersed, and tended to awaken sympathy with the sufferers, and indignation against the clergy, as the cause of

^w Strype's Annals, iv. Numb. 90.

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their wrongs. The conflict between the archbishop and the sectaries was now at its height. He had proceeded from one degree of rigour to another, without accomplishing his design. Severe laws were unrighteously employed to crush his adversaries; but their numbers rapidly increased, their fortitude could not be shaken, and they now ranked amongst them men eminent for learning as well as piety and zeal.

The unshaken loyalty which the Brownists uniformly professed, even when dying as felons under the charge of sedition, shamed their persecutors from proceeding any further on the statute of the 23rd of this reign. There was a monstrous absurdity, as well as wickedness, in hanging men for assaulting the queen's government, who confidently appealed to the whole tenor of their lives in disproof of the charge. Their dying speeches were received as oracles, and served to obliterate from many minds the unfavorable impression which their peculiarities had made. The sympathies of the nation were thus engaged on their behalf. Men pitied their sufferings, and were indignant at their wrongs. Some milder forms of punishment would have been sanctioned; but, when they were led to execution, and died in the profession of loyalty, and in the confidence of religious hope, a reaction took place in the sentiments of the public. The dying sectaries were regarded as the victims of episcopal intolerance, in whose history men began to discern the true nature and amount of the evils with which they were threatened by priestly domination. Even the queen is represented to have compassionated

Execution of
Brownists
stayed.

CHAP. their condition, and to have designed their
XVI. release.^x

ELIZ.

Their banish-
ment.

This state of things induced an alteration in their treatment. Instead of being proceeded against for sedition, it was resolved to indict them on the statute of the 35th of Elizabeth, which inflicted banishment for non-attendance at church. Mr. Francis Johnson, the pastor of the Brownist church in London, and many of his members, were thus driven into exile.^y They retired to Holland, where

^x Strype's Annals, iv. Numb. 91.

^y Besides Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Ainsworth, and Mr. Jacob were amongst the most distinguished of these confessors. Mr. Johnson, while detained in prison, wrote to the lord treasurer, under date of January 18, 1593-4, complaining of the hard treatment which himself and his brethren received from the commissioners. "Your lordship," he says, "may think it strange that ever we should suspect them to be so unreasonable and wickedly-minded as to trouble us for these things wherein we have done the duty of good and faithful subjects. But, my lord, we have found such unchristian usage at their hands, and perceived their hearts so to thirst after our blood, as if they were not restrained, partly for fear of her majesty and your honors, partly for shame of the world, and chiefly by the mighty and overruling hand of God, we might justly fear they would bring as much innocent blood upon this land at this day, as Arundel, Gandymmer, Stokesly, Bonner, Story, Dunning, or any such like bloodsuckers have done heretofore. . . . I know that if you look at our persons, we are a

people despised and reviled of all men; yea, every where spoken against as schismatics, seditious persons, subverters of the state, and what not. But this, alas, has been the lot of the truth and servants of God, yea of the prophets, apostles, and of Christ himself, thus to be railed upon and persecuted for the truth's sake, and commonly under other colour and pretence.

Therefore we are not ashamed of the gospel and sufferings of Christ; neither ought your lordship to withhold your help from us, inasmuch as we suffer these things only for refusing to have spiritual communion with the antichristian prelacy and other clergy abiding in this land; and for labouring, in all holy and peaceable manner, to obey the Lord Jesus Christ in his own ordinance of ministry and worship, prescribed in his last testament, and sealed with his precious blood. Wherein, if we did err, yet prisons and gallows were no fit means to convince and persuade our consciences; but rather a quiet and godly conference, or discussing of the matter by deliberate writing before equal judges. Which we have often sued for, but yet could never obtain it."--Strype's Annals, iv. Numb. 91.

they formed churches on their own model, and published an Apology in vindication of their principles and character.² In this invaluable document they avow their unshaken loyalty to their prince, and defend their distinguishing tenets with much temper and ability. Referring to the former topic, they say, "We desire thee, good reader, to understand and mind that we have not in any dislike of the civil estate and politic government in that commonwealth (England), which we much like and love, separated ourselves from that church; neither have we shaken off our allegiance and dutiful obedience to our sovereign prince Elizabeth, her honorable counsellors, and other magistrates set over us; but have always and still do reverence, love, and obey them every one in the Lord; opposing ourselves against all enemies, foreign or domestic; against all invasions, insurrections, treasons, or conspiracies, by whomsoever intended against her majesty and the state, and are ready to adventure our lives in their defence, if need require. Neither have our greatest adversaries ever been able to attain us of the least disloyalty in this regard. And although now we be exiled, yet do we daily pray, and will, for the preservation, peace, and prosperity of her majesty and all her dominions."³

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Their loyalty.

² It was entitled *An Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists*, and was published in 1604. It contained the *Confession of Faith*, which the exiles had published in 1598, and constitutes one of the most important and interesting historical documents of that period.

³ Apologie, &c., p. 7. The forty-third article of their confes-

sion relates to civil obedience, and is as follows. "Unto all men is to be given whatsoever is due unto them. Tributes, customs, and all other such lawful and accustomed duties, ought willingly and orderly to be paid and performed. Our lands, goods, and bodies to be submitted, in the Lord, to the magistrates' pleasure. And the magistrates themselves every way to be acknowledged,

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Sufficiency of
the scriptures.

The exclusive authority of the word of God, and its competency to regulate the ministry and government of the church, are distinctly maintained. On the latter point they say, "This ministry is exactly

reverenced, and obeyed according to godliness, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience' sake."—*Ibid.*, 28.

It might have been expected that the charge of disloyalty would by this time have been abandoned by the enemies of the Brownists, and that all honorable men, however opposed to their opinions, and sensible of their faults, would have joined in reprobating their treatment. A recent writer, however, attempts to defend the government of Elizabeth from the charge of religious persecution. "The charge," he tells us, "is unfounded. The individuals suffered, whether justly or unjustly, for offences against the state. Barrow, Greenwood, and Coppinger were deemed guilty of treason, and it was for treason they suffered. . . . The punishment of the Brownists was not persecution, as they suffered for civil offences by due course of law."—*History of the English Episcopacy*. By the Rev. Thomas Lathbury, M. A., 1836. pp. 57-59. Against such statements it is scarcely necessary to reason; men may call things by what name they please, but they cannot thereby alter their nature. The Brownists suffered for the advocacy of religious opinions, as is shown amongst a thousand proofs by the fact that they were offered life and liberty if they would sign a recantation. Their opinions were substantially the same as are now held by the congregational churches of this country, and it would be just as correct to charge the members of the latter with sedition and treason, as it was the former. The difference between many of Elizabeth's bishops and those of Mary was

simply this, that the former shrunk from appearing in their true character, while the latter gloried in their shame. The first class was the most despicable, the last the most ferocious. The one must be despised for their hypocrisy, the other be detested for their blood-thirstiness. Not having yet had an opportunity of examining the whole of Mr. Lathbury's volume, I can only express a hope that it is not generally characterized by the inaccuracy and disingenuousness which distinguish the pages referred to above. Coppinger is classed with Barrow and Greenwood, as a Brownist, and is said to have suffered for treason, whereas there is no evidence whatever of his connexion with this party; and instead of being executed, he is reported to have died in prison. With equal accuracy Mr. L. calls Barrow, Greenwood, and Parry, "the supposed authors" of the Mar-prelate tracts; who "were executed," he says, "for sedition, with which they had mingled religion." The first two of these individuals were never suspected, so far as I am aware, of such authorship; and the last is a name unknown to the history of those culpable publications. I suppose John Penry is meant. Mr. Lathbury has also made a very incorrect and disingenuous use of Mr. Hallam's name, as he must instantly perceive on a perusal of the passage to which he refers, and especially from that distinguished writer's note, p. 224. The whole paragraph refers to the catholics, and to them only, and even in this application cannot be understood to express the decided opinion which Mr. L.'s professed quotation gives.

described, distinguished, limited, concerning their office, their calling to their office, their administration of their office, and their maintenance in their office, by most perfect and plain laws in God's word ; which laws it is not lawful for these ministers or for the whole church wittingly to neglect, transgress, or violate, in any part, nor yet to receive any other laws brought into the church by any person whatsoever."^b

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They assert the right of the church to choose its own officers, and to exclude unworthy members from its fellowship; asserting, in opposition to the puritans as well as the hierarchy, that "Christ hath given this power, to receive in or to cut off any member, to the whole body together of every Christian congregation, and not to any one member apart, or to more members sequestered from the whole, or to any other congregation to do it for them. Yet so as each congregation ought to use the best help they can hereunto, and the most meet member they have to pronounce the same in their public assembly."^c

Independence
of the church.

The views entertained by the Brownists of the church of England, were open to the charge of illiberality and bitterness. They refused to acknowledge it as a church of Christ, declaring its constitution to be too secular, its basis too worldly, and its terms of admission too lax to comport with so sacred a character. So far they were right ; but they failed to exhibit the truth in its benignant aspect and fair proportions. Their views were narrow and rigid to a fault, so that their estimate of general character was materially affected by the

^b Apologie, &c., 16, 20.^c Ibid., 21.

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slightest discrepancies in religious belief. The severity with which they censured all other communities, and the strong terms of reprobation in which they were accustomed to denounce the ministry, government, and constitution of the English hierarchy, gave occasion to the charge of their restricting salvation to the members of their own society. Against such a misconstruction they might easily have guarded; but their language was too intemperate, and the connexions in which they exhibited offensive truths were too partial, to allow them wholly to escape the imputation.^d Their views of the church, and of the duty of christians to abandon her fellowship, are thus stated.

Church of
England un-
scriptural.

“These ecclesiastical assemblies, remaining thus in confusion and bondage under this antichristian ministry, courts, canons, worship, ordinances, &c., without freedom and power to redress any enormity among them, cannot be said, in this confusion and subjection, truly to have Christ their prophet, priest, and king; neither can be in this estate (whilst we judge them by the rules of God’s word) esteemed the true, visible, openly gathered, or constituted churches of Christ, whereof the faithful may become or stand members, or have any spiritual communion with them in their public worship and administration.

To be for-
saken by the
godly.

“Wherefore are all that will be saved bound by God’s commandment with speed to come forth of

^d Mr. Penry, in one of his examinations, having asserted that he believed nothing but what the martyrs had maintained, was asked whether the martyrs taught that there was no church in England; to which he replied, “If

by a church, you mean that public profession whereby men profess salvation to be had by the death and righteousness of Jesus Christ, I am free from denying that there is a church of Christ in this land.” —Brook’s Puritans, ii. 53.

this antichristian estate, leaving the suppression of it unto the magistrate to whom it belongeth. And all such also as have received or exercised any of these false offices, or any pretended function or ministry in or to this false and antichristian constitution, are willingly in God's fear to give over and leave those unlawful offices, and no longer to minister in this manner to these assemblies in this estate. Neither may any, of what sort or condition soever, give any part of their goods, lands, money, or money worth, to the maintenance of this false ministry and worship, upon any commandment or any colour whatsoever."*

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The province of the magistrate in reference to religion is somewhat vaguely described. It is difficult to determine the precise extent to which the exiles would have sanctioned his employment of force. His approbation is represented as desirable, but not necessary to the scriptural reformation of the church.

"If God," they say, "withhold the magistrate's allowance and furtherance herein, yet must we notwithstanding proceed together in Christian covenant and communion, thus to walk in the obedience of Christ, and confession of his faith and gospel, even through the midst of trials and afflictions; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, sisters, no, nor our lives, dear unto us, so as we may finish our course with joy, remembering always that we ought to obey God rather than man; and grounding upon the commandment, commission, and promise of our Saviour Christ, who as he hath all power in heaven and

The magistrate's sanction not indispensable.

* Apologie, &c., 24.

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earth, so hath also promised (if we keep his commandments which he hath given without limitation of time, place, magistrate's allowance or disallowance) to be with us unto the end of the world ; and when we have finished our course and kept the faith, to give us the crown of righteousness which is laid up for all that love his appearing."†

Of the future history of this people we shall subsequently have occasion to speak. Their *Confession* embodies so much of important and neglected truth, that it cannot but be interesting to trace the influences which modified their character and enlarged their views, so as to prepare them for the advocacy of those liberal principles, both in politics and religion, which are of paramount importance to mankind.

† Apologie, 28.

CHAPTER XVII.

Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity—Controversy respecting the Sabbath—Calvinistic Controversy—Lambeth Articles—Apparent Success of Whitgift's Policy—Parliament of 1597—Convocation—The High Commission stayed by Prohibitions from the Civil Court—Character of Elizabeth—Her Ecclesiastical Government.

THE severity with which the laws against the puritans and the Brownists were enforced, did not prevent the bishops from employing several able writers to defend their cause. The chief of these were Drs. Bridges, Cosin, Bilson, Some, and Bancroft.^g But the most celebrated vindication of the establishment was *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, by Hooker, the successful competitor of Travers for the mastership of the Temple. This production grew out of the disputes which took place between Hooker and Travers, and was more especially designed to recover the younger members of the Temple from the influence of Travers's ministry.^h

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Hooker's
ecclesiastical
polity.

^g Bancroft had evinced his entire devotion to the cause of episcopacy in his celebrated sermon at St. Paul's cross. His two treatises, the one entitled *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, &c., and the other, published in

1593, *A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, &c., partake in an extraordinary degree of the faults incident to the controversial writings of that day.

^h Hooker gives the following account of its origin, in a

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It was divided into eight books, the first four of which were published in 1594, the fifth in 1597, and the remaining three some years after the author's death.¹ Its character is matter of history, and its merits are too well known, and too generally admitted, to require extended comment. It stands, by universal consent, in the first class of English literature, and has done more to display the capabilities of our language, and the strength of our intellect, than any other of the controversial productions of that age. Its majestic and flowing diction, its profound investigation of the foundations of law, and the skill with which it brings its general conclusions to bear on the particular case of the church of England, command the admiration of the intelligent reader, however adverse his views may be to those which the author advocates. The *Ecclesiastical Polity* is deeply interesting to the protestant dissenter, as displaying the utmost that can be advanced in support of the system to which he is opposed. All that human genius, or that the most patient and scrutinizing inquiry into the nature of man and the constitution of human society, can

letter to Whitgift. "My lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted the scripture and other laws, both human and divine. Whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with, as to alter our frame of church government; our manner of God's worship; our praising and praying to him; and our established ceremonies, as

often as his and others' tender consciences shall require us. And in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a Treatise, in which I intend a justification of the laws of our ecclesiastical polity; in which design God and his holy angels shall, at the last great day, bear me that witness which my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all tender consciences." — Walton's *Life of Hooker*, prefixed to Hanbury's edition of his works, p. 99.

¹ Walton's *Life*, 100. Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 148, 199.

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effect, is here accomplished on behalf of the hierarchy. If, therefore, such a work fails to sustain its positions ; if many of its principles are unsound, and its course of argumentation is precisely similar to that which popery employs ; if large sections of the work are as conclusive against the protestant faith, as against that form of it to which Hooker was opposed ; a strong presumption must be awakened that there was a radical unsoundness in the cause he advocated, which no genius could remedy or diligence correct.^j That such defects do attach to this celebrated performance has been extensively acknowledged, and will be increasingly felt, as the true spirit of protestantism prevails amongst its professed disciples.^k

^j Walton tells us that the first four books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* were strongly recommended to the perusal of the pope Clement VIII., either by cardinal Allen or Dr. Stapleton, and that his holiness expressed the highest possible admiration of them. "There is no learning," said he, "that this man hath not searched into ; nothing too hard for his understanding ; this man indeed deserves the name of an author. His books will get reverence by age, for there are in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."—Life of Hooker, p. 101. It is well known that James II. referred to the preface to Hooker's work, and to Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, as the works which mainly contributed to his renunciation of protestantism.—Hallam's Const. Hist., ii. 514.

^k The better parts of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*," remarks Mr. Hallam, "bear a resemblance to the philosophical writings of antiquity, in their defects as well as

their excellencies. Hooker is often too vague in the use of general terms, too inconsiderate in the admission of principles, too apt to acquiesce in the scholastic pseudo-philosophy, and, indeed, in all received tenets, he is comprehensive rather than sagacious, and more fitted to sift the truth from the stores of accumulated learning, than to seize it by an original impulse of his own mind ; somewhat also impeded, like many other great men of that and the succeeding century, by too much acquaintance with books, and too much deference for their authors. It may be justly objected to some passages, that they elevate ecclesiastical authority, even in matters of belief, with an exaggeration not easily reconciled to the protestant right of private judgment, and even of dangerous consequence in those times ; as when he inclines to give a decisive voice in theological controversies to general councils, not indeed on the principles of the church of Rome, but on such as must end in the same conclu-

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Controversy
respecting the
sabbath.

A new controversy was raised in the year 1595, by the publication of a treatise on the sabbath, in which the author, Dr. Bound, maintained its moral nature and perpetual obligation.¹ This was totally different from the view which the early reformers, both continental and English, had entertained, and was regarded with extreme suspicion by Whitgift.^m Several ministers were cited into the bishops' courts for advocating this doctrine in their sermons; and the archbishop issued letters forbidding Bound's treatise to be printed, and calling in the copies already in circulation.ⁿ But his efforts were utterly fruitless. The obnoxious doctrine was received with unexampled favor, and rapidly circulated through the country. "It is almost incredible," says Fuller, "how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lord's day, especially in corporations, began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as yet by statute permitted; yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day, the stoutest fencer laid down the buckler; the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting besides the mark; may-games and morrice-

sion—the high probability that the aggregate judgment of many grave and learned men should be well founded. Nor would it be difficult to point out several other subjects, such as religious toleration, as to which he did not emancipate himself from the trammels of prejudice."—Const. Hist., i. 295.

¹ Ten years before this, Mr. Smith, a member of the Cambridge university, had advocated a similar view of the sabbath, for which he was summoned before the vice

chancellor.—Strype's Annals, iii. i. 496.

^m It was early insinuated by the enemies of the puritans, that their advocacy of the moral character of the sabbath was but a piece of policy. This base insinuation was first urged by Mr. Rogers, the earliest opponent of Dr. Bound's doctrine, and has since been repeated by Collier and others.—Fuller, ix. 228. Collier, ii. 643.

ⁿ Strype's Whitgift, ii. 415.

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dances grew out of request ; and good reason that bells should be silenced from gingling about men's legs, if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful. Some were ashamed of their former pleasures, like children which grown bigger, blushing themselves out of their rattles and whistles."^o

The efforts which Whitgift and the lord chief justice Popham made to suppress Bound's treatise, only served to increase the avidity with which it was sought after. Men eagerly inquire for that which is forbidden. The power of curiosity is thus added to the love of knowledge, and sacrifices are cheerfully made to procure what would otherwise have been disregarded or unknown. Thus it was with the publication in question, as the subsequent history of the sabbatarian controversy will show.^p

Hitherto the English reformers had, with very few exceptions, been strictly Calvinistic in their doctrinal views. The puritans and the church party had been equally zealous for the maintenance of those opinions which were known, as a theological system, by the name of the Genevan reformer, and

Calvinistic
controversy.

^o Church Hist., ix. 227.

^p "The price of the doctor's book," says Fuller, "began to be doubled, as commonly books are then most called on when called in ; and many who hear not of them when printed, inquire after them when prohibited. And though the book's wings were clipt from flying abroad in print, it ran the faster from friend to friend in transcribed copies ; and the Lord's day in most places was most strictly observed. The more liberty people were offered, the less they used it, refusing to take the freedom authority tendered them. For the vulgar sort have

the actions of their superiors in constant jealousy, suspecting each gate of their opening to be a trap, every hole of their digging to be a mine, wherein some secret train is covertly conveyed to the blowing up of the subject's liberty, which made them almost afraid of the recreations of the Lord's day allowed them ; and seeing it is the greatest pleasure to the mind of man to do what he pleaseth, it was sport for them to refrain from sports, whilst the forbearance was in themselves voluntary, arbitrary, and elective, not imposed upon them."—Ch. Hist.. ix. 229.

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were supposed to be absolutely necessary to a fair exhibition of the sovereignty of Divine Love in the salvation of men. Recently, however, indications of an approaching change had been visible in the Arminian complexion of the theology advocated in many of the pulpits of the establishment. This was objected to Hooker and to others of the clergy by the puritans, as a manifest departure from the articles of the church and the testimony of the sacred volume. A new line of distinction was thus gradually, and almost imperceptibly, drawn between the church and puritan party. Doctrinal differences were introduced in their discussions, which embittered their hostility, and rendered their agreement more hopeless than ever.

The debate commenced in the university of Cambridge, where the two divinity professors, Drs. Whittaker and Baro, were of different judgments on the topics involved in the Calvinistic controversy.^q Great offence was given to several of the heads of colleges by Mr. Barret, a fellow of Gonvil and Caius college, who, in a sermon at St. Mary's church, reflected severely on Calvin and other foreign writers, and exhorted his hearers not to read their productions.^r He was summoned before the vice-chancellor, and the measures adopted against him led to the interposition of the archbishop, who, to stifle the controversy, and to prevent the peace of the church from being disturbed, convened a meeting of learned divines at Lambeth, where the following articles were adopted, to which the scholars of the university were required to conform their judgments.

^q Strype's Whitgift, ii. 227.^r Ibid., 229.

1. That God from eternity has predestinated some men to life, and reprobated others to death.

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2. That the moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the foreknowledge of faith, or perseverance, or good works, or of any other thing in the person predestinated, but only the good-will and pleasure of God.

ELIZ.

Lambeth
Articles.
Nov. 20, 1595.

3. The number of the predestinated is fixed, and cannot be lessened or increased.

4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

5. A true, living, justifying faith, and the sanctifying spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor does it fail or fade away in the elect, either finally or totally.

6. A man truly faithful, that is, one endowed with justifying faith, has a full assurance of the remission of his sins, and of his eternal salvation through Christ.

7. Saving grace is not given or communicated to all men so that they might be saved if they would.

8. No one is able to come to Christ, unless it be given to him, and unless the Father draw him. And all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.*

These articles were severely censured by some, and as warmly approved of by others. The judgments passed on them were regulated by the opinions which men previously entertained, the one party condemning them as subjecting their framers

* Fuller, ix. 230. Collier, ii. 644. Strype's Whitgift, ii. 280.

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to the penalties of a premunire, the other commending them as a faithful testimony to the truth, borne in their public and official character by some of the dignitaries of the church. Heylin affirms, that the queen was incensed with the archbishop for drawing them up, and had at one time resolved on having him and his associates in this labor prosecuted; but his testimony is unsupported, and deserves little credit.[†] The only light in which the Lambeth Articles can properly be regarded is that of a testimony to the opinions then prevalent in the English church. In this point of view they constitute an interesting and an important historical document, to which the Calvinistic interpreters of the thirty-nine articles may confidently appeal.[‡] A revolution was subsequently effected in the theological sentiments of the dignitaries of the church, which gave rise to a numerous party, termed doctrinal puritans. The members of this party were

[†] Hist. of the Presbyterians, 344. This writer insinuates that Whitgift did not fully approve of the doctrines contained in these articles, but was influenced by other motives in the part which he took in drawing them up.—P. 345. Were this the case, it would leave the archbishop's moral character under an indelible stigma. But there is not a particle of truth in the unworthy insinuation.

[‡] Collier, ii. 645, endeavours to show that these articles did not contain the doctrine of the English reformers; but the more candid Fuller remarks, "All that I will say of the credit of these articles is this: That as medals of gold and silver, though they will not pass in payment for current coin, because not stamped with

the king's inscription, yet they will go with goldsmiths for as much as they are in weight; so, though these articles want authentic reputation to pass for provincial acts, as lacking sufficient authority, yet will they be readily received of orthodox christians, for as far as their own purity bears conformity to God's word. And though those learned divines be not acknowledged as competent judges to pass definitive sentence in those points, yet they will be taken as witnesses beyond exception, whose testimony is an infallible evidence, what was the general and received doctrine of England in that age, about the forenamed controversies."—Ch. Hist., ix, 232.

distinguished by a rigid adherence to the general doctrines of the Lambeth Articles, and were regarded by the court divines with as much hostility as the more numerous body who impugned the ceremonies and constitution of the church. The force of circumstances naturally brought these two classes of puritans together. A feeling of sympathy and respect was mutually awakened. Both were opposed to the administration of the church, though on different grounds, and were ultimately combined in a successful resistance of episcopal intolerance and latitudinarian principles.

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The violence of the archbishop's proceedings appears to have alarmed the puritan ministers into something like silence. A long course of oppression had depressed their spirits, and induced them to wait for the more favorable opportunity which they expected on the accession of James. The death of the early reformers had made way for the appointment of other men of fiercer temper, and of more plastic principles. All the higher stations in the church were filled by the zealous advocates of conformity. During a period of forty years, the ecclesiastical patronage of the crown had been bestowed on the enemies of the puritans, whose exclusion from offices of emolument and influence was anxiously sought by Elizabeth and her archbishops. It need not, therefore, awaken surprise if the puritans, abandoning all hope of accomplishing their design during the life of the queen and the administration of Whitgift, reserved themselves for better times. There was a successor in prospect, educated in presbyterian principles, and pledged to their maintenance, from whom they

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success of the
archbishop's
policy.

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might naturally expect an attentive hearing and a favorable judgment. It must not, however, be supposed that the course of intolerance was stayed. Though the puritans were more cautious and reserved, their enemies displayed on every occasion the same bitterness and tyranny. Judge Anderson, in his circuit, during the year 1596, disgraced the English bench by his violent denunciation of the puritans and Brownists, and by his contumelious treatment of such of their ministers as were brought before him. "I would to God," said an observer of his proceedings, "that they which judge in religious causes, though in the name of civil affairs, would either get some more knowledge in religion and God's word than my lord Anderson hath, or else might be assisted in all such causes by those which have." ^v

Parliament
of 1597.

The archbishop also, in order to prevent the return of persons disaffected towards the church, actively exerted himself in the elections for the parliament which met October 24, 1597. His efforts were so far successful that the constitution and worship of the establishment was exempted from assault, though several bills were introduced for the correction of abuses existing in the spiritual courts, and of other evils in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. ^w But the interposition of the queen again prevented the parliament from adopting any measure for the removal of the evils which were deprecated. ^x

Convocation.

In the convocation which sat during this parliament, various regulations were agreed to for the

^v Strype's Annals, 4. Numb. 196.

^w Strype's Whitgift, ii. 373.
^x Ibid., 376.

correction of some of the more flagrant evils that disgraced the ecclesiastical courts; which were afterwards allowed by the queen, and were published with her authority.⁷ But the reforms thus introduced afforded no protection to the puritans from the gross injustice of the high commission court. More effectual relief, however, was obtained from the civil courts, into which the puritans removed their case, by prohibitions from Westminster Hall. The archbishop bitterly complained of this interference with the ecclesiastical commission, and, together with his brethren, he drew up a number of queries respecting the legality of such prohibitions, for the consideration of the judges.² But neither his efforts, nor those of his successor, could prevent their being granted, though Laud at length succeeded in frightening the judges from the discharge of their duties. These prohibitions protected the puritans in some measure from the power of their enemies, whose fears were aroused by the advanced age of the queen, and the prospect

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The judgments of the high commission arrested by prohibitions from the civil courts.

⁷ Sparrow's Collections, 245. Strype's Whitgift, ii. 383.

² Ibid., 397, 427. The following were the queries relating more particularly to the ecclesiastical commission. "Seeing ecclesiastical authority is now as highly and truly vested in the prince as is her temporal, Whether her temporal authority should any more restrain her ecclesiastical, than her ecclesiastical should her temporal?"

"And for avoiding of confusion, and encroachment of jurisdictions distinct, why the prince's supreme ecclesiastical authority may not be as jealous over the temporal, as the temporal is over the ecclesiastical: seeing the common oath

of obedience tieth all indifferently to the assistance and the defence of all pre-eminences, united to the crown? And seeing so many and so great personages, with some others, are trusted to do her majesty's service in her highness' ecclesiastical commission, Whether it be convenient that an offender, ready to be censured, upon his own false suggestion before a conference had with any commissioners thereupon, who knew the truth best, should obtain, and publicly in court throw in, a prohibition to the delay of justice, and to the disgrace and disparagement of those who served freely without all fee therein?"

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Character of
Elizabeth.

of a presbyterian successor. Her long reign was terminated March 24, 1603, to the great relief of her attendants, and the general satisfaction of the nation.^a

Her personal character has been very variously drawn. By the writers of one party she has been represented as eminently devout, imbued with the spirit, and influenced both in her private and public conduct by the principles, of religion; while their opponents have described her as a compound of dissimulation, cruelty, and lust. A medium course between these conflicting representations will be found most accordant with the facts of her history, and the known temper of her mind. No doubt can be entertained of her distinguished talents. They were of a masculine order, and were better fitted to inspire awe, and to secure obedience, than to command regard. They were more suited to the sovereign than to the female, and were shown in the skilful selection of her counsellors, and in her steady adherence to that line of policy which her own judgment and their suggestions alike approved. She knew what was due to the dignity of her crown, as well as any sovereign in Europe; and could, for the most part, command even her weaknesses and attachments when this was concerned. Her religion was, like that of most princes, a thing

^a Towards the close of her life Elizabeth was reduced to a pitiable state of wretchedness. She never forgave herself for signing the warrant for Essex's execution. Sir John Harrington, in a letter written at the close of 1601, says of her, "She is quite disfavoured, and unattired, and these troubles waste her much. She disregard-

eth every costly cover that cometh to the table, and taketh little but manchet and succory potage. She walks much in her privy chamber, and stamps with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras in great rage."—Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 317.

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of policy and form. Protestant in name, but papist in spirit, she attended to the ceremonial parts of worship, but was utterly destitute of that reverence for the Deity, without which external services cannot be pleasing in his sight. The part which Elizabeth acted in restoring the protestant church of England, has caused her to be ranked as a religious woman. Her virtues have been exaggerated, and her defects cautiously concealed, by the advocates of that church, so that her religious character has been totally misapprehended. She has received credit for principles of which she was totally destitute; and has been exhibited as a pattern of virtues, no one of which appeared in her deportment. She was strongly attached to some of the most obnoxious dogmas and rites of the Romish church, and on more than one occasion threatened her bishops with a reinstatement of the ancient faith. Warmly opposed to an increase of preaching ministers, she contended with singular inconsistency that it was good for the church to have but few, and that three or four were enough for a county. Her own attendance on their sermons was infrequent, being chiefly, if not entirely, confined to the season of Lent.^b She was frequently in the use of profane oaths, and sometimes treated her bishops with an insulting asperity.^c The bishop of London, having on one occasion, when preaching before her, reflected on the vanity displayed by many persons in their apparel, she told her attendants that if he

^b Strype's Grindal, 329. Parker, i. 401.

^c Sir John Harrington, in a letter dated October 9, 1601, giving an account of his audience with

the queen, says, "She swears much at those that cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of all about her."—Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 319.

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“held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.”^d Such was the personal character of the queen, of whom the church of England boasts as her restorer and ornament.

Her ecclesi-
astical go-
vernment.

The ecclesiastical government of Elizabeth grew naturally out of her temper and principles. Her arbitrary disposition led her to suspect and strongly to oppose the bold spirit of inquiry on which puritanism was engrafted, while her hatred of spiritual religion prompted her to discountenance and punish its most zealous advocates. The vital form which piety assumed in the ministrations of the puritans could not fail to be offensive to a sovereign so ignorant of its nature. Her ecclesiastical administration was based on an unchristian and mischievous principle. It employed force instead of persuasion, and substituted temporal rewards for the blessings of the gospel dispensation. Her supremacy over the church was an assumption which no laws can justify, and which brought with it a thousand elements of secularity and corruption. It regarded religion as a matter of state policy, and the church as a creature of parliamentary statutes. The diffusion of the one and the stability of the other were

^d *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 170. Cox, the bishop of Ely, having refused to alienate some of the possessions of his see, for the benefit of the lord-keeper Hatton, Elizabeth wrote to him the following laconic epistle:

“Proud prelate,

“You know what you were before I made you what you are: if you do not immediately com-

ply with my request, by G— I will unfrock you.

“Elizabeth.”

—*Const. Hist.* i. 304.

On another occasion she commanded Fletcher, the bishop of London, to be suspended, because “he being a widower, married a fine lady and widow;” which arbitrary sentence was immediately executed by the obsequious Whitgift.—*Strype’s Whitgift*, ii. 215.

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sought to be advanced by the same agency as was employed in mere political affairs. Wealth and rank were conferred on the ministers of a favored sect, who repaid the patronage which they received by vesting their appointment in the crown. The splendour of the hierarchy was thus heightened, but its piety was enfeebled. What it gained in temporal dignity it lost in moral strength. The tide of corruption set in strongly; and, though its course was for a season arrested, it ultimately carried away every obstruction, and forced its noxious waters through a thousand channels.

The treatment which the puritans received from the government of Elizabeth was progressively severe. In the early part of her reign many of the bishops were friendly to their cause, but their views were modified by the collisions which ensued. "Then," says Lord Bacon, "were they content mildly to acknowledge many imperfections in the church; as tares come up amongst the corn; which yet, according to the wisdom taught by the Saviour, were not with strife to be pulled up, lest it might spoil and supplant the good corn, but to grow on together till the harvest. After, they grew to a more absolute defence and maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly to hold that nothing was to be innovated; partly because it needed not, partly because it would make a breach upon the rest. Hence, exasperated through contentions, they are fallen to a direct condemnation of the contrary part, as of a sect. Yea, and some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonorable and derogatory speech and censure of the churches abroad; and that so far, as some of

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our men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers.”^e

ELIZ.

This growing violence of opinion was accompanied with a proportionable rigour and severity. The administration of Parker has already been described. Its character deepened as it advanced. It became increasingly intolerant and arbitrary; but in its worst stage it was moderate, and almost paternal, as compared with that of Whitgift. The queen seldom acted but with the concurrence and on the advice of the latter prelate. Many of her counsellors were averse from his proceedings, and would gladly have disarmed him of his authority. But she rebuked their interference, and gave her open countenance to his most oppressive and unconstitutional measures. Lending herself to the counsels of an intolerant and bigoted ecclesiastic, she attempted to coerce the conscience of her subjects, and to perpetuate the system of her sister under a protestant name. But her design utterly failed. Though the puritan clergy were ejected from their benefices, were fined, imprisoned, and, in some cases, were put to death; though the press was restrained, and the privileges of parliament were invaded; though the high commission court and the star chamber were rigorously employed to destroy the last relic of English freedom, yet, at the queen’s decease, the party disaffected to the hierarchy was more numerous, more decided in hostility to the church, and more confident of ultimate success, than at any former period of her reign.

The sufferings of the puritans during the primacy of Whitgift are not to be paralleled in the history

of protestant intolerance, unless, perhaps, an exception may be made of the times of the second Charles. The number of deprivations and imprisonments which took place must have involved a mass of misery, at which humanity may well weep, and the infliction of which it becomes the virtuous of every party to reprobate. That the puritans were immaculate it would be folly to pretend. Their faults were numerous, and some of them glaring. But they were loyal subjects of the queen, and, as such, were entitled to the equal protection of her laws. The most envenomed hostility could not fasten upon them the charge of disaffection to her civil government, yet they were given over to the tender mercies of intolerant priests, who have ever been foremost in the career of persecution, and in the shedding of human blood. The capital error of the puritans was their imperfect acquaintance with the nature of religious liberty. Indistinct approaches to the truth are discoverable in some of their writings; but it is too evident to admit of doubt, that they were wholly unprepared to grant to others the freedom which they asked for themselves. This gave an inconsistency to their proceedings, and involved their successors in coercive measures which cannot be too severely condemned.

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It has been attempted to defend Elizabeth's government, on the ground that the rudeness and insolence of the puritans, and the obvious tendency of their measures to disparage the authority of the queen, justified the employment of severe measures against them. Sir Francis Walsingham, one of her counsellors, took ground somewhat similar to this, in a letter which he wrote, about 1580, to Monsieur

Sir Francis
Walsingham's defence
of the queen's
government.

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Critoy, a Frenchman, in which he states that the queen's proceedings against the papists and puritans were grounded on these two principles:—"The one, that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by force of truth, with the aid of time, and use of all good means of instruction and persuasion. The other, that causes of conscience, when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish their practices and contempt, though coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion."^f

After adverting to the case of the catholics, he says, "For the other party, which have been offensive to the state, though in another degree, which named themselves reformers, and we commonly call puritans, this hath been the proceeding towards them: A great while, when they inveighed against such abuses in the church as pluralities, non-residence, and the like, their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured. When they refused the use of some ceremonies and rites as superstitious, they were tolerated with much connivancy and gentleness; yea, when they called

^f Mr. Hallam, referring to these principles, remarks, first, "that they take for granted the fundamental sophism of religious intolerance, namely, that the civil magistrate, or the church he supports, is not only in the right, but so clearly in the right, that no honest man, if he takes time and pains to consider the subject, can help acknowledging it; secondly, that, according to the principles of Christianity as admitted on each side, it does not rest in an esoteric persuasion, but requires an exterior profession, evidenced

both by social worship, and by certain positive rites; and that the marks of this profession, according to the form best adapted to their respective ways of thinking, were as incumbent upon the catholic and puritan, as they were upon the primitive church; nor were they more chargeable with faction, or with exceeding the bounds of conscience, when they persisted in the use of them, notwithstanding any prohibitory statute, than the early christians."

—Const. Hist. i. 309.

in question the superiority of bishops, and pretended to a democracy in the church; yet their propositions were here considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular: as because papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths, that they sought to purge the church from the relics of papistry; a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. Because multitudes of rogues and poverty was an eye-sore and a dislike to every man; therefore they put into the people's head that, if discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds nor beggars—a thing very plausible: and in like manner they promised the people many of the impossible wonders of their discipline; besides, they opened to the people a way to government by their consistory and presbytery; a thing, though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men than to the sovereignty of princes, yet in first show very popular. Nevertheless, this, except it were in some few that entered into extreme contempt, was borne with, because they pretended, in dutiful manner, to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God, and the authority of the magistrate.

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“ But now, of late years, when there issued from them that affirmed the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended; when, under a pretence of confession, to avoid slander and imputations, they combined themselves by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the government of the church by ridi-

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culous pasquils; when they began to make many subjects in doubt to take oaths, which is one of the fundamental parts of justice in this land, and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of their strength, and number of their partizans and followers, and to use combinations that their cause would prevail, through uproar and violence, then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division: and, therefore, though the state were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet was it with as great moderation as the peace or state of the church would permit.”^g

This letter has been represented by the enemies of the puritans as a triumphant vindication of the proceedings of Elizabeth’s government against them. Its reasonings, however, are sophistical, and some of its statements are incorrect. It has more of the appearance of an official despatch than of a confidential communication, and must be regarded rather as furnishing the utmost that can be urged by a secretary of state in defence of his sovereign’s administration, than as supplying an impartial judgment on the character and proceedings of the parties in question. “It is a very able apology for her government,” says Mr. Hallam, “and, if the reader should detect, as he doubtless may, somewhat of sophistry in reasoning, and of misstatement in matter of fact, he will ascribe both one and the other to the narrow spirit of the age with respect to civil and religious freedom, or to the circumstances of the writer,—an advocate whose sovereign was his client.”^h

^g Burnet’s Reform., ii. 647.^h Const. Hist., i. 309.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JAMES I.

Expectation of parties—Millenary Petition—Strength of the Puritan Party—Cambridge and Oxford Universities oppose the Puritans—Publication of Jacob's Reasons for Reforming the Church of England—Hampton Court Conference—Death and Character of Whitgift—Proclamations against Papists and Puritans—Parliament of 1604—Convocation.

THE character of James was but little understood at the time of his ascending the English throne. As he had been educated in the bosom of a presbyterian church, the puritans were elated with the hope of his favour, and looked forward to a period of repose, if not of supremacy, under his patronage. His professions of attachment to the church of Scotland warranted this expectation. In the general assembly of that church, in 1590, he encouraged the clergy to prosecute the work of reformation. "In the end," says the historian, "to please the assembly, he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, to such a place, as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva," he added, "keep pasche and yule (Easter and Christmas), what have they for them? They have no institution,

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Expectation
of parties on
the accession
of James.

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As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass, but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same.”ⁱ The same circumstances which had promoted a false confidence in the puritans exerted a depressing influence on the archbishop and his brethren. They were in the habit of referring to his accession under the metaphor of a *Scotch mist*, and feared much that he would patronize the new discipline, and make extensive alterations in the government and liturgy of the

ⁱ Calderwood's Church Hist. of Scotland, 256. Dr. Grey, in his *Examination* of Mr. Neal's second volume, endeavours to disprove the fact of James having expressed any attachment to the presbyterian church of Scotland. For this purpose he quotes passages from his printed works, and from his speeches in the Hampton Court conference, which severely reflect on the puritans: and hence he concludes that at no period of his life could he have uttered such sentiments as Neal, on the authority of Calderwood, attributes to him. It is obvious to remark that the two classes of passages, those adduced by Neal and those brought forward by Dr. Grey, are perfectly reconcileable on the supposition of the king's insincerity, while the former receive confirmation from the fact that he interposed on behalf of some of the English puritans, at the risk of incurring the displeasure of Elizabeth. These conflicting passages pertain to different periods of his life, and are but specimens of the kingcraft of which he was so proud. Dr. Grey

principally relies on, a passage from the *Basilikon Doron*, which was published in 1599, and consequently before James's accession to the English throne. But he forgets to tell his readers that only seven copies of this work were permitted to be printed, the printer being sworn to secrecy; and that to a reprint of it, issued a short time before the death of Elizabeth, a new preface was added, in which the king, to remove the impression which his reflections on the clergy might make to his disadvantage, protests, on his honor, “that, by the name of puritans he meant not all preachers in general, or others that disliked the ceremonies as badges of popery, and the episcopacy as smelling of a papal supremacy, but did equally love the learned and grave on either side; and intended only such brainsick and heady preachers that leaned too much to their own dreams, contemned all authority, counted all profane that would not swear to all their fantasies.”—Harris's *Life of James I.*, 51—54.

church. So serious were the apprehensions of the archbishop, that he is reported to have prayed that he might not live to see the next parliament. Both parties gave the monarch credit for sincerity, of which they soon found him to be wholly destitute. Whitgift's fears, however, were soon allayed, for Dr. Nevyl, a dean of Canterbury, having been sent into Scotland with assurances of the loyalty of the clergy, and an earnest request that James would take them under his protection, returned with an answer "which," says Strype, "gave him great comfort and satisfaction."^j

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Millenary
petition.

While the king was on his way to London, the puritans presented to him what was popularly called the millenary petition. It was entitled, *the humble petition of the ministers of the church of England, desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the church*, in the preamble of which the subscribers say: "We, the ministers of the gospel in this land, neither as factious men, affecting a popular party in the church, nor as schismatics, aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as the faithful servants of Christ, and loyal subjects to your majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of diverse abuses of the church, could do no less, in our obedience to God, service to your majesty, and love to his church, than acquaint your princely majesty with our particular griefs. And, although diverse of us that sue for reformation, have formerly, in respect of the times, subscribed to the book, some upon protestation, some upon exposition given them, some with condition, rather than the church should have been deprived of their labour and

^j Strype's Whitgift, ii. 469, 479.

CHAP. XVIII. ministry; yet now we, to the number of more than
 ——— a thousand of your majesty's subjects and ministers,
 JAMES I. all groaning, as under a common burden of human
 rites and ceremonies, do, with one joint consent,
 humble ourselves at your majesty's feet, to be eased
 and relieved in this behalf." ^k

In this petition they prayed, "First, that in the *church service*, the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants; confirmations, as superfluous, may be taken away; baptism not to be ministered by women; and so explained; the cap and surplice not urged; that examination may go before the communion; that it be ministered with a sermon; that divers terms, of *priests*, and *absolution*, and

^k The title commonly given to this petition was founded on the reputed number of signatures to it. These were generally reckoned at a thousand, though they fell considerably short of that number. Clarke states them at above seven hundred and fifty, from twenty-five counties only, which Fuller repeats, with this remark, "However, for the more rotundity of the number, and grace of the matter, it passeth for a full thousand, which no doubt the collectors of the names (if so pleased) might easily have

completed. I dare not guess what made them desist before their number was finished; whether they thought that these were enough to do the deed, and more were rather for ostentation than use, or because, disheartened by the intervening of the Hampton Court conference, they thought that these were even too many for a denial."—Clarke's *Lives*, &c., 116.—Church Hist. x. 7. In a puritan treatise, published in 1605, the following list of the signatures to this petition is given:—

Oxfordshire	9	Cheshire	12
Stafford	14	Bedford	16
Dorset	17	Somerset	17
Hertford	17	Derby	20
Nottingham	20	Lancashire	21
Surry	21	Kent	23
Norfolk	28	London	30
Wiltshire	31	Lincoln	33
Buckingham	33	Warwick	44
Sussex	47	Devon and Cornwall	51
Leicester	57	Northampton	57
Essex	57	Suffolk	71

—An Abridgment of that book which the ministers of Lincoln diocess delivered to his majesty.—p. 52.

some others used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book, may be corrected; the longwsomeness of service abridged; church songs and music moderated to better edification; that the Lord's day be not profaned; the rest upon holy-days not so strictly urged; that there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed; no popish opinions to be any more taught or defended; no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; that the canonical scriptures only be read in the church. Secondly, *concerning ministers*: that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men; and those to preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's day; that such as were already entered, and could not preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief, or else to be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers; that non-residence be not permitted; that king Edward's statute, for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage, be revived; and that ministers be not urged to subscribe, but according to the law, to the articles of religion and the king's supremacy only. Thirdly, *For church livings and maintenance*: that bishops leave their commendams; some holding prebends, some parsonages, some vicarages, with their bishoprics; that double beneficed men be not suffered to hold, some two, some three, benefices with cure; and some two, three, or four dignities besides; that impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges be demised only to the preachers' incumbents for the old rent; and that the impropriations of laymen be charged a sixth or seventh part of their value for

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the maintenance of preaching ministers. Fourthly, *For church discipline:* that the discipline and excommunication may be administered, according to Christ's own institution, or, at the least, that enormities may be redressed; as, namely, that excommunication come not forth under the name of laypersons, chancellors, officials, &c.; that men be not excommunicated for trifles and twelve-penny matters, nor without the consent of their pastors; that the officers be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees; that none having jurisdiction, or registrar's places, put the same out to farm, &c."¹

Strength of
the puritan
party.

Other petitions of a similar nature were presented to the king during the summer of 1603, some of which spoke a language more decided, and called for alterations more sweeping and radical.^m The number of signatures attached to these petitions was very great, and clearly show that, however the administration of Whitgift had terrified the malcontents into silence, it had utterly failed to overcome their aversion, or to eject them from the benefices of the church. The archbishop himself was probably surprised at the strength which the puritan party now put forth. He passed the summer, we are informed, pensively, and left no means untried by which he could hope to defeat the designs of his opponents, and to secure the favor and protection of the king.ⁿ

Cambridge
and Oxford
oppose the
puritans.

The universities of Cambridge and Oxford were alarmed at the movements of the puritans. The former passed a grace, June 9th, 1603, declaring,

¹ Fuller, x. 22.

ⁿ Strype's Whitgift, ii. 484.

^m Strype's Whitgift, ii. 481;
Fuller, x. 24.

“that whosoever in that university should openly oppose, by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the church of England, or any part thereof, should be suspended from any degree taken, or from any degree to be taken, to be excluded, *ipso facto*.” And the latter published a reply to the millenary petition, dedicated to the archbishop and others of the king’s counsellors, in which they humbly beseech his majesty, “That it might be considered, how inconvenient and insufferable it was, in christian policy, to permit a long and well-settled state of government to be so much as questioned, much more to be altered, for a few of his subjects; especially considering the matter pretended to be the cause of these men’s grief, and of their desired reformation, unjustly so called.” °

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The design of this *answer* was to prejudice the petitioners in the estimation of the king, and to recommend the church of England to his patronage as the most loyal and the best constituted church in the world.

The excitement attendant on the accession of James gave rise to numerous publications, setting forth the views of the several religious parties in the kingdom. Among the rest was one entitled, *Reasons taken out of God’s word and the best human testimonies, proving a necessity of reforming our churches in England*. It was written by Mr. Henry Jacob, a Brownist, and strikingly exhibits the rapid progress which many members of that sect were now making in christian charity and expansiveness of feeling. Their residence on the continent, whither they were driven by persecution, had

Publication
of Jacob’s
Reasons for
Reforming
the Church of
England.

° Strype’s Whitgift, ii. 483, 484; Neal, ii. 6.

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brought them into connexion with forms of worship different from those they had discarded in England, yet not coinciding exactly with their own. Their self-confidence was thus shaken; they learned to respect the integrity of men whose modes of worship they disapproved, and became solicitous to blend a christian spirit with the faithful exhibition of religious truth. Mr. Jacob's treatise was designed to establish the following propositions: 1. It is necessary to reform the churches of England, their ministry, and ceremonies. 2. For the space of two hundred years after Christ the visible churches using government were not diocesan churches, but particular ordinary congregations only; and the bishops (as they were peculiarly called after the apostles) were only parhisional, not diocesan bishops, differing from other pastors only in priority of order, not in majority of rule. 3. The scriptures of the new testament do contain and set forth unto us (besides the government by extraordinary offices, apostles, prophets, evangelists) an ordinary form of church government used then. 4. The ordinary form of church government set forth unto us in the new testament ought necessarily to be kept still by us; it is not changeable by men, and therefore it only is lawful.

The exclusive authority of the scriptures is the principle on which Mr. Jacob mainly relies throughout his treatise. "We believe," he says, "God's written word ought to be our sole warrant for all things ecclesiastical, and even so, namely, for those with us now in controversy, if at all they be lawful." He admits that many of his brethren dissented from some of his views, yet asserts that they were

all united in maintaining "the sufficiency and perfection of God's word in whatsoever matters merely ecclesiastical." Reasoning faithfully on this principle he necessarily arrives at conclusions unfavorable to the established church, of which he nevertheless speaks in terms of moderation and regard. His views of the nature of a church are set forth with distinctness and simplicity in the following passage: "It is to be noted that in the estimation of men a visible church (that is, which is endued with power of spiritual outward government) is of divers forms and natures. Nevertheless in truth and in very deed Christ hath ordained for us only one kind of a visible church in his word, and this only ought to be allowed and believed to be a true church by all christians, for who is it that can, or ever could, make any society of people to be a visible church but Christ only? Some men esteem the universal number of professed christians in the world to be one visible church, calling it the catholic or universal visible church. And the catholics, taking hold hereof, do conclude that likewise there is and ought to be one catholic and universal government ecclesiastical, unto which all other churches, and their governments, must be subordinate. But in God's word there is no such visible church nor government any where to be found. This is merely devised by the wit and will of men. Again, men esteem a whole nation professing the gospel to be one visible church, and they call it a *national* church, likewise a province a *provincial* church, and a diocese a *diocesan* church. But none of these likewise can be found in the whole new testament of Christ. Only a *particular*

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JAMES I.

Nature of the
christian
church.

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— Christ's testament is appointed and reckoned to be
JAMES I. a visible church. And therefore so standeth the
case now here with us in England also, and so we
ought to esteem it."p

From his general reasonings in the first part of his treatise he deduces the following conclusions, in which his approximation to the modern independents is distinctly marked: "1. Every particular ordinary congregation of faithful people in England is a true and proper visible church. 2. Every such congregation here and everywhere is endued with power immediately from Christ to govern itself ecclesiastically or spiritually. 3. Every true and proper visible church every where is but one ordinary or constant congregation only."q

He successfully vindicates his cause from the charge of being unfriendly to monarchy, which its enemies perpetually urged. "First," he says, "we absolutely deny that any manner of ecclesiastical government requireth the civil government to become conformed to it. This is a most false conceit. The bounds of either government are distinct and clearly severed the one from the other; albeit, each doth aid and succour the other. . . . But they think this manner of government will become tumultuous and troublesome in the state; and so it will prove hurtful to the prince. I would demand, why think they that the church government (as we desire it) will be troublesome and tumultuous? They will answer, because we require of necessity that elections of ministers, and excommunications, &c., must be *popular*, which cannot but bring with them commonly tumult, and much trouble, if not

p Reasons, &c., 4.

q Ibid., 22.

confusion and peril to many. Whereupon I reply, CHAP.
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 that this were very true indeed (viz. much trouble
 and tumult would commonly follow, and perhaps JAMES I.
 peril to divers) if we desired or sought for popular
 elections of *diocesan bishops*. Such as we read of
 and find to have been used in many places under
 christian princes from three hundred years after
 Christ hitherward for a long time. As, for example,
 at Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, &c.
 In these and other cities very great stirs, tumults,
 and confusions among the people have risen indeed
 not seldom times, even in and about such their
 elections. The ecclesiastical histories are full of
 examples to this purpose. But such running to-
 gether of a whole city or diocese, such voice-
 giving of such multitudes of people we desire not,
 neither do we any way allow it. It was a corrupt
 remainder indeed of the people's ancient free voice-
 giving to the election of their *parishional pastors* or
bishops. For such all ordinary bishops and pastors
 were primitively in the apostles' days, and such
 every where they were left by them. Every ordi-
 nary bishop, then (I say), was only of a parish (as
 the ancients call it), that is of one particular con-
 gregation only, and no greater. And so their
 elections were accomplished by the free consent and
 voice-giving only of the people of each of these
 particular ordinary congregations, or parishes.
 Now it is true, indeed, we acknowledge, we allow,
 and do desire such *elections* and excommunications
 by the people. Neither is this to be reckoned any
popularity, which can be either prejudicious to
 princes, or tumultuous in itself. No, it cannot be
 an inconvenient order, but most reasonable for any
 place or people in the world. Namely, seeing we

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do expressly hold this assertion no otherwise (and we heartily pray that it may be noted), but as it is grounded on four circumstances: 1. In regard that it is (as we are well assured) a divine order and ordinance instituted for each church by Christ and his apostles. 2. Considering that we allow the people's consent and voice-giving in elections, excommunications, &c., to be done only by the christian people of one parish, that is of one particular ordinary congregation only, and by no greater nor larger number of people by any means. 3. Considering that in the manner hereof we hold this only to be necessary and ordinary, that the ecclesiastical guides there (apart from the people) do first by themselves prepare and determine the whole matter, in such sort that the people may not need to do ought afterward, but only consent with them, and freely signify their consent in it. 4. If any where it should fall out that this people thus guided, and being so few, will yet presume to be in their church elections, &c., unruly and violent, then the prince's next dwelling *officers of justice* may and ought to make them keep peace and quietness."

Hampton
Court con-
ference, Jan.
1604.

The determination of the king was formed from the first moment of his ascending the English throne; nor was he long in making it known. It was necessary, however, that some regard should be paid to appearances. He therefore pretended ignorance, and requested to be informed on the points in dispute between the church and the puritans. His instant conversion would have been so palpably base as to have excited general contempt; but it was hoped, by affecting the character of an inquirer, and offering to sit in judgment

on the contending parties, that he might conceal his real intentions, and gain credit for sincerity. A proclamation was accordingly issued, bearing date Oct. 24, 1603, appointing a conference in the presence of the king between certain dignitaries of the church and some divines of the puritan party. This proclamation, though affecting impartiality, sufficiently indicated the king's determination. The constitution and doctrine of the English church are affirmed to be "agreeable to God's word, and near to the condition of the primitive church;" and its condition to be such as reflected great credit on those by whom it had been governed. Severe censures are passed on the zealous efforts of the puritans, and all the king's subjects are required to "repose themselves, and leave to his conscience that which to him only appertained; avoiding all unlawful and factious manner of proceeding. For that hereafter, if any should, by gathering the subscription of multitudes to supplications, by contemptuous behaviour to any authority, by open invectives and indecent speeches, either in the pulpit or otherwise, or by disobedience to the processes proceeding from their jurisdiction, give him cause to think that he had a more unquiet spirit than became any private person to have towards public authority; he would make it appear by their chastisement how far such a manner of proceeding was displeasing unto him; and that he found that these reformers, under pretended zeal, affected novelty, and so confusion in all estates. Whereas his purpose and resolution ever was, and so still was, to preserve the estate, as well ecclesiastical as politic, in such form as he had found it

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— established by the laws here; reforming only the abuses which he should find apparently proved.”^s

JAMES I. The conference was held at Hampton Court, and the disputants were nominated by the king. On behalf of the hierarchy there were summoned eight bishops, beside the archbishop, six deans of cathedral churches, the dean of the king’s chapel, two doctors of divinity, and one archdeacon; while, from the puritans, four divines only were selected, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparke, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chadderton.^t The conference was continued for three days, January the 14th, 16th, and 18th, and was managed, on the part of the king, with the grossest partiality. The puritans were excluded on the first day, the king being desirous of conferring with the bishops on some points respecting which he was not perfectly satisfied. He commenced the conference by “a congratulation to Almighty God for bringing him into the promised land, where religion was purely professed—where he sat among grave, learned, and reverend men; not as before elsewhere, a king without state, without honor, without order, where beardless boys would brave him to his face. And to assure us,” says dean Barlow, “that he called not this assembly for any innovation, acknowledging the government ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have been approved by

^s Strype’s Whitgift, ii. 485. The archbishop might well express his satisfaction with this proclamation. Writing to the earl of Shrewsbury, Dec. 12, 1603, he says, “Although our humorous and contentious brethren have made many petitions and motions, correspondent to their natures, yet your lordship may perceive, by the proclamation published,

and to my comfort I am assured, by his majesty’s letters writ to me, that they have not much prevailed. Your lordship, I am sure, doth imagine that I have not all this while been idle, nor greatly quiet in mind. For who can promise himself rest among so many vipers?”—*Ibid.*, App. 44, p. 391.

Ibid., ii. 492.

manifold blessings from God himself, both for the increase of the gospel, and with a most happy and glorious peace; yet, because nothing could be so absolutely ordered, but something might be added afterward thereunto, and in any state, as in the body of man, corruptions might insensibly grow, either through time or persons; and in that he had received many complaints since his first entrance into the kingdom; his purpose, therefore, was, like a good physician, to examine and try the complaints, and fully to remove the occasions thereof, if they prove scandalous, or to cure them if they were dangerous; or, if but frivolous, yet to take knowledge of them, thereby to cast a sop into *Cerberus's* mouth, that he may never bark again.”^a The points on which he required satisfaction were, first, some things in the book of common prayer, as

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^a Barlow's Account of the Hampton Court Conference, printed in the *Phenix*, i. 142. Barlow was dean of Chester, and one of the church disputants in this conference, and was charged by the nonconformists with having done great injustice to their arguments in his *Account*. “When the Israelites,” says Fuller, referring to this charge, “go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a *sharp edge* on their own, and a *blunt one* on their enemies' weapons.”—Ch. Hist., x. 21. But it is not necessary to impeach the correctness of Barlow's account, in order to a vindication of the puritans. His own report is sufficient evidence against his party. “If,” remarks Dr. Harris, “he has not represented their (the puritans') arguments in as just a light, nor related what was done by the ministers as advantageously as truth required, he has abundantly made it up to them by shewing that the bishops, their

adversaries, were gross flatterers, and had no regard to their sacred characters; and that their mortal foe James had but a low understanding, and was undeserving of the rank he assumed in the republic of learning. This he has done effectually; and therefore whatever was his intention, the puritans should have applauded his performance, and appealed to it for the proof of the insufficiency of him who set himself up as a decider of their controversies.”—Life of James I., p. 103. Strype has printed an account of this conference, contained in a letter from the bishop of Durham to the archbishop of York.—Whitgift's Life, App. 44, p. 402. Mr. Patrick Galloway also forwarded an account to the presbytery of Edinburgh, having first submitted it to the revision of the king.—Calderwood's Hist., 474. See also Winwood's Memorials, ii. 13. These accounts supply some circumstances omitted by Barlow.

CHAP. XVIII. confirmation, absolution, and private baptism ; secondly, the manner of proceeding in the ecclesiastical courts ; and, thirdly, the provision made for the religious instruction of Ireland. On all these points he spoke at considerable length, to the great delight of a willing auditory. " So admirably," says Barlow, " both for understanding, speech, and judgment, did his majesty handle them, sending us away not with contentment only, but astonishment."^v

JAMES I. On the second day, Jan. 16th, the puritans were present; and Dr. Reynolds, in the name of his brethren, proposed—1. That the doctrine of the church might be preserved in purity according to God's word. 2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same. 3. That the church government might be sincerely ministered, according to God's word. 4. That the book of common prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety.^w

Though their manner was respectful, and even timid, the puritan advocates were insulted and browbeaten by the king, were frequently interrupted in their speeches, and reminded, in coarse and offensive language, of the measures which would be adopted to constrain their obedience. The king displayed throughout the day the acrimonious violence of a weak and unprincipled man. Mr. Knewstubs having expressed some doubt of the right of the church to introduce new ceremonies, James told him with anger, that " he would not argue that point with him, but answer therein, as kings are wont to speak in parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera*; adding that it smelled very strongly of

^v Account of, &c., 148.

^w Ibid., 149.

anabaptism ; comparing it to the usage of a beardless boy (one Mr. John Black), who told him that he would hold conformity with his ordinances, for matters of doctrine, but for matters of ceremony they were to be left in christian liberty to every man, as he received more and more light from the illumination of God's Spirit. But I will not of that, quoth the king ; I will have one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony ; and therefore I charge you never to speak more to that point (how far you are bound to obey) when the church hath ordained it."^u

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In a subsequent part of the discussion, Dr. Reynolds having requested that the *prophesyings* might be revived, and that those cases of ecclesiastical discipline which could not be decided at these meetings, might be referred to the archdeacon's visitation, and ultimately to the bishop with his presbytery, the king broke out into an indecent passion, declaring that a Scotch presbytery, to which he thought the proposition of Dr. Reynolds tended, agreed with a monarchy no better than God with the devil. "Then," said he, "Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet, and, at their pleasures, censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus. Then Dick shall reply, and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus. And, therefore, here I must once reiterate my former speech, *Le Roy s'avisera*. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that of me ; and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you."

^u Barlow's Account, 166.

^v Ibid., 169.

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Thus decorously could the Solomon of his age, as his clerical sycophants styled him, talk in the presence of grave divines, whom he had convened to discuss matters of the deepest importance to the religious interests of the community. He insulted the puritan advocates by charging them with hypocrisy, and closed the conference by remarking to his attendants, "If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of this land, or else do worse."^w

On the third day of the conference Dr. Reynolds and his brethren were admitted only to hear the alterations on which the king and the bishops had agreed, when the former told them "he now saw that the exceptions against the communion book were matters of weakness;" adding, "therefore, if the persons reluctant be discreet, they will be won betimes, and by good persuasions; if indiscreet, better they were removed, for many, by their factious behaviour, were driven to be papists."^x "Thus," remarks Mr. Neal, "ended this mock conference, for it deserves no better name, all things being previously concluded between the king and the bishops before the puritans were brought upon the stage, to be made a spectacle to their enemies, and borne down, not with calm reason and argument, but with the royal authority—I approve or disprove: the king making himself both judge and party."^y

^w Barlow's Account, 170.

^x Ibid., 175.

^y Hist. of Puritans, ii. 18. "The Hampton Court conference," says Mr. Robinson, "was a ridiculous farce, a compound of kingcraft and priestcraft. The actors in it

forgot nothing but their masks. The puritans would not be gulled by it, but continued to dissent; and they were right."—Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity, Works, ii. 221.

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The conduct of the church divines on this occasion was one consistent piece of abject and fulsome flattery. It is scarcely possible to read the narrative which one of themselves has published without feeling contempt for their servility, and indignation at the injury which they inflicted on religion. Whitgift was so enraptured at the king's defence of the *ex officio* oath, as to declare "that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit;" and Bancroft, his successor in the archiepiscopal see, "upon his knee protested that his heart melted within him with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God the singular mercy we have received at his hands, in giving us such a king, as since Christ's time, the like, he thought, had not been."² "In the accounts that we read of this meeting," observes Mr. Hallam, "we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the king, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence towards their opponents. It was easy for a monarch and eighteen churchmen to claim the victory, be the merits of the dispute what they might, over abashed and intimidated adversaries."^a

Sir John Harrington, a bitter enemy of the puritans, who was present at this conference, gives

² Barlow's Account, 174. Mr. Southey attempts to extenuate the conduct of the prelates by urging the habit of their day. They were so accustomed to the language of gross adulation as to be almost innocent in its employment. When they used it on this occasion, "unworthy," he re-

marks, "as it may appear to us, it proceeded as much from habit as from delight, at finding the king's opinions upon church government, which had been greatly doubted, in such entire conformity with their own."—Book of the Church, ii. 334.

^a Const. Hist., i. 404.

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the following account of it, in a letter to his wife:

“The bishops came to the king, about the petition of the puritans. I was by, and heard much discourse. The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds, at Hampton; but he rather used upbraidings than arguments, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivellings: moreover, he wished those who would take away the surplice might want linen for their own breech. The bishops seemed much pleased, and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean, but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed. I cannot be present at the next meeting, though the bishop of London said I might be in the anti-chamber; it seemeth the king will not change the religious observances. There was much discourse about the ring in marriage, and the cross in baptism; but, if I guess right, the petitioners against one cross will find another.”^b

The alterations agreed on at this meeting were few and trivial. The term *absolution* was to be explained, the rubric about private baptism to be qualified, some thanksgivings were to be added to

^b Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 181. The king himself, writing to a Scotch correspondent, says of this conference, “We have kept such a revel with the puritans here these two days, as was never heard the like; where I have peppered them as soundly as ye have done the papists there. It were no reason that those that will refuse the airy sign of the cross after baptism should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me di-

rectly, *ut est eorum moris*, as I was forced at last to say unto them, that if any of them had been in a college disputing with their scholars, if any of their disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up in a place of a reply; and so should the rod have plied upon the poor boy’s buttocks. I have such a book of theirs as may well convert infidels, but it shall never convert me, except by turning me more earnestly against them.”
—Strype’s Whitgift, App. 46, p. 408.

the litany, some questions and answers appended to the catechism, and the most objectionable portions of the Apocrypha were to be omitted. "Thus," says Heylin, rejoicing in the discomfiture of the puritans, "this great mountain, which had raised so much expectation, was delivered only of a mouse."^c It is therefore no wonder that the puritans were generally dissatisfied with the conference, and refused to be determined by its conclusions. Their ministers had been invited by the king, instead of being nominated by themselves, and had argued for the indifference, rather than the sinfulness, of the ceremonies. The points in dispute were barely proposed, and the puritan divines were frequently interrupted and browbeaten. On these grounds the great body of the nonconformists withheld their concurrence, and the breach between them and the church was in consequence widened.^d James thus lost the only opportunity which his reign afforded of healing the religious divisions of the nation. He might have done so without sacrificing the church, or making undue concessions to tender consciences. Had he been but sincere, and his bishops been men of moderation and principle, the majority of the puritans might have been won over, and the hierarchy reinstated in the confidence of the nation. But he was too vain, and weak, and unprincipled, to seize the golden opportunity, and bitter was the retribution

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^c Hist. of the Presby., 373.^d Neal, ii. 19. The puritans earnestly pleaded for a new translation of the bible, in consequence of which the present authorized version was made. So far from

being the illiterate bigots which party malice has affirmed, they were in advance of their opponents in the importance which they attached to scriptural erudition.

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which a disappointed and an exasperated people visited on his family.

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Death and
character of
Whitgift.

Whitgift did not long survive this conference. His death was hastened by anxiety. Though his party had triumphed at Hampton Court, he was not easy. He dreaded the approaching parliament, in which he was aware that the puritans would make strenuous efforts to introduce their discipline. They had prepared a *Directory*, to be submitted to the house, which, says Strype, the archbishop "was privy to, and very apprehensive of." He expired on the 29th of February, and is recorded to have said on his death-bed, "And now, O Lord, my soul is lifted up, that I die in a time wherein I had rather give up to God an account of my bishopric, than any longer to exercise it among men."^e The character of his administration has sufficiently appeared in the course of this history. It embodied the worst passions of an intolerant state priest, and stood out in the history of protestant persecution as worthy of especial reprobation. Its early severity was but an earnest of its later atrocities. Commencing in extensive deprivations, it proceeded to imprisonment, and ultimately to the infliction of death. It knew no mercy—it exercised no compassion. It had but one object, and that it pursued without compunction or remorse. The most conscientious of the queen's subjects were mingled with the vilest of their race. Whatever was noble in character, elevated in sentiment, or pure and ethereal in devotion, was confounded with the baser elements of society, and proscribed and punished as an offence to God and treason against the state.

^e Strype's Whitgift, ii. 507.

The legal institutions of the kingdom were converted into means of oppression, and the dark recesses of its prisons resounded, at once, with the sighs and the prayers of men of whom the world was not worthy. It is in vain to defend the administration of Whitgift on the ground of the excesses of the Puritans. Those excesses were provoked by his cruelty. They grew out of his government, the unmitigated rigor of which exasperated the spirits and soured the temper of his opponents. Neither can the archbishop be justified on the plea that he acted on the commands of the queen. His servility was indeed contemptible, but his ecclesiastical measures had their origin in his own breast. He was the queen's adviser, to whose judgment she deferred, and of whose hearty concurrence in every measure of severity and intolerance she was fully assured. Several of her counsellors were opposed to his severity, "but, secure of the queen's support, Whitgift relented not a jot of his resolution, and went far greater lengths than Parker had ever ventured, or perhaps had desired, to proceed." ^f His administration involved an immense sacrifice of life. It is easy to number the martyrs whom popery led

^f Const. Hist., i. 271. Cartwright, the distinguished antagonist of Whitgift expired a short time before him. He died Dec. 27, 1603, aged sixty-eight years. His published works were numerous, and his confutation of the Rhemist translation of the New Testament, published after his death, greatly extended his fame. He had been urged by several parties to undertake this work. Sir Francis Walsingham sent him one hundred pounds towards the purchase of such

books as he might require. Several of the doctors and heads of houses at Cambridge united in a letter earnestly calling him to this work, as did also many ministers in London and Suffolk. With these requests he complied, and had made some progress in the work, when the suspicious Whitgift, jealous of the honor his antagonist might thus obtain, interdicted his proceeding any further. Fuller, ix. 171. Strype's Whitgift, i. 482. Annals, iii. i. 287.

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to the stake; but no other than an omniscient being is competent to reveal the secrets of his dark and loathsome prison-houses. Many of his victims entered with a robust frame and a vigorous spirit; but the one was wasted by disease, and the other broken down by oppression, till the last enemy released them from the tyrant's grasp, and ushered them into the presence of the King of kings. The protestant church of England is deeply steeped in the blood of the saints. The martyrdom it inflicted was less violent and less calculated to shock the public mind, but it was not a jot less cruel or wicked than that which Bonner and Gardiner practised.

King's proclamation
against the
papists and
puritans, 1604.

Soon after the conference at Hampton Court the king issued two proclamations; one dated Feb. 22, 1603-4, commanding all seminary priests and jesuits to leave the kingdom by the 19th of the following month; and the other, bearing date March 5, levelled against the puritans, and having for its object an *uniformity of the book of common prayer to be used throughout the realm*. In the latter proclamation the veil is completely thrown aside. The king speaks out in his proper character, and annihilates at once all the hopes which the puritan party had entertained. "He could not conceal," says James, referring to the Hampton Court conference, "that the success of that conference was such as happened to many other things, which moving great expectation before they be entered into their issue, produce small effect. For that he found more and vehement informations, supported with so weak and slender proofs, as it appeared unto him and his council, that there was no cause why any change

should have been at all, in that which was most impugned, the book of common prayer, containing the form of the public service of God here established, neither in the *doctrine* which appeared to be sincere, nor in the *forms* and *rites* which were justified out of the practice of the primitive church." After stating that he had consented, with the concurrence of the bishops, to the explanation rather than the change of some trivial things, he warns his subjects against expecting any further concessions. "For that neither would he give way to any to presume that his own judgment, having determined in a matter of this weight, should be swayed to alteration by the frivolous suggestions of any light spirit; neither was he ignorant of the inconveniences that did arise in government by admitting innovation in things once settled by mature deliberation."^g

The parliament which Whitgift had so much dreaded, and to which the puritans now clung as their only hope, met on the 19th of March, 1603-4. The king opened the session in a long speech, in which his vanity, pedantry, love of power, and hatred of the puritans were sufficiently apparent. To the persons of the Roman Catholics he professed great moderation, and of their church he spoke in terms which must have awakened the apprehensions of all true protestants. After adverting to his protestant education, he said, "But I was never violent nor unreasonable in my profession. I acknowledge the Roman church to be our mother church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jews were when they crucified Christ;

Parliament of
1604.

^g Strype's Whitgift, ii. 520.

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JAMES I. and as I am none enemy to the life of a sick man,
because I would have his body purged of ill humours; no more am I enemy to their church, because I would have them reform their errors, not wishing the downthrowing of the temple, but that it might be purged and cleansed from corruption; otherwise how can they wish us to enter, if their house be not first made clean?" The temporal supremacy claimed by the catholic clergy for the pope, and the sanction afforded to the assassination of kings, are represented as the only impediments to their toleration. "If," said the king, after referring to these, "they would leave and be ashamed of such new and gross corruptions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of reformation, I would, for mine own part, be content to meet them in the mid-way, so that all novelties might be renounced on either side; for, as my faith is the true, ancient, catholic, and apostolic faith, grounded upon the scriptures and express words of God, so will I ever yield all reverence to antiquity in the points of ecclesiastical antiquity; and by that means shall I ever, with God's grace, keep myself from ever being a heretic in faith, or schismatic in matters of policy." The professions of moderation contained in this passage might have entitled the king to the admiration of posterity if they had proceeded from a sense of justice or a regard to the rights of conscience; but the language adopted towards the puritans proves that he was entirely free from these honorable motives. "They do not so far differ from us," said James, "in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and purity; being ever discontented with

the present government, and impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh their sects insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth.”^h His sympathies were all in favor of the Romish church, between which and that of England he would gladly have promoted a confederation. This led him to solicit the confidence of its members, while he denounced, with all the bitterness of a polemic, the firmest and truest protestants of the land. Little was done in this parliament respecting religion. A law was passed making void all grants and leases of church lands to the king, the marriage of the clergy was legalized, and a statute of Edward VI. was revived, which enacted that all processes, citations, &c., of the ecclesiastical courts should be issued in the king’s name, “which,” says Heylin, “gave some colour to the puritan faction, for creating trouble to the bishops in their jurisdiction.”ⁱ

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Convocation,
1604.

In the convocation which sat during this parliament severe measures were adopted against the puritans. The see of Canterbury being vacant, Bancroft presided, and, on the second of May, he presented to the lower house a book of canons, containing one hundred and forty-one articles. These were speedily adopted, and received the sanction of the king; but, not having been confirmed by parliament, they are binding on the clergy only.^j

^h Parliamentary Hist. i. 977—988.

ⁱ Heylin’s Hist. of the Presby., 375.

^j The authority of these canons was for a long time matter of dispute, but was finally settled by Lord Hardwicke, in the case

of Middleton and Croft. His lordship, in giving the judgment of the court over which he presided, remarked: “On the best consideration we have been able to give it, we are all of opinion that the canons of 1603, not having been confirmed by par-

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The main object of these canons was the suppression of puritanism; and, if curses could have effected it, its destruction was inevitable. The sentence of excommunication was now added to the penalties attaching to nonconformity. This was a fearful addition to the sufferings of the puritans, for he who was excommunicated was not only separated from the fellowship of the church, but was rendered incapable of suing for his lawful debts, was subjected to imprisonment until satisfaction was rendered to the church, and at death was refused christian burial. This sentence, the most solemn and affecting which the christian church can pronounce, aggravated by the temporal penalties with which human legislation vainly sought to augment its power, was threatened against the most trifling violations of ecclesiastical rule. Whoever affirmed that the book of common prayer contained any thing repugnant to scripture, or that the ceremonies of the church are not such as good men may use with a safe conscience; whoever declared that there are in England other assemblies rightly challenging to themselves the name of churches, or that it is lawful for ministers or laymen to make rules, &c., in causes ecclesiastical; whoever questioned the apostolical character of the established church, or refused to subscribe to any of the thirty-nine articles; whoever impugned the ordination of bishops,

liament, do not *proprio vigore* bind the laity; I say, *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority; for there are many provisions contained in these canons which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the church of England received and allowed

here, which, in that respect, and by virtue of such ancient allowance, will bind the laity; but that is an obligation antecedent to, and not arising from, this body of canons." — Burn's Eccl. Law, Pref. xxxi.

priests, and deacons, or affirmed that the form of their consecration contained any thing repugnant to God's word;—whoever committed these or a vast number of other and similar offences, was to be cast out of the fellowship of the church, and consigned to the fearful retributions of an eternal world.^k Such were the tender mercies of protestant ecclesiastics at the commencement of the seventeenth century, long after the revival of literature, and the proclamation of spiritual freedom by Luther and his associates. Popery may plead the ignorance of the times when its system was shaped, and the character of its policy determined; but the protestant church of England arising in the age of Shakspeare and Bacon successfully emulated the bigotry, intolerance, and cruelty of its predecessor. That the fires of Smithfield were not more frequently rekindled, is attributable to the state of the public mind, which checked the course of persecution, and imposed some decency on infuriated ecclesiastics. They incarcerated instead of burning their victims. They consigned them to solitude, to penury, and disease, and were rarely diverted from their course till they had bowed the spirit, or broken the heart, of their victim. On the 23rd of May, there was a debate in the convocation about the cross in baptism, which gave occasion to the delivery of an admirable speech by the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Rudd, who exposed the futility of the arguments employed by Bancroft and others, and earnestly pleaded for a moderate and conciliatory line of policy. After affirming the antiquity of the ceremony, and expressing his conviction that all super-

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^k Sparrow's Collection, 271—334. Neal, ii. 29.

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stitution was excluded from the church of England, the bishop thus proceeds. “Likewise I wish, that
JAMES I. if the king’s highness shall persist in imposing of it, all would submit themselves to it (as we do) rather than forego the ministry in that behalf. But I greatly fear, by the report which I hear, that very many learned preachers, whose consciences are not in our custody, nor to be disposed of at our devotion, will not easily be drawn thereunto. Of which number, if any shall come in my walk, I desire to be furnished beforehand, by those that be present, with sufficient reasons to satisfy them (if it be possible) concerning some points which have been presently delivered.

“Concerning these preachers last mentioned, I suppose that if, upon the urging them to absolute subscription and use of the ceremonies and attire prescribed, they should stand out stiff, and choose rather to forego their livings and the exercise of their ministry, though I do not justify their doings therein, yet surely their service would be missed at such time as need shall require us and them to give the right hand of fellowship one to the other, and to go arm in arm against the common adversary, that so may be *vis unita fortior*. In which case of want of their joint labors with ours, there might arise cause of some such doleful complaint as fell out upon an accident of another nature in the Book of Judges, where it is said, *For the divisions of Reuben were great thoughts of heart*.

“Likewise consider who must be the executioners of their deprivation, even we ourselves, the bishops, against whom there will be a great clamour of them and their dependents, and many others who are well

affected towards them ; whereby our persons shall be in hazard to be brought into great dislike, if not into extreme hatred ; whereof what inconveniencies may ensue, I leave to your wisdoms to be considered of.

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“ Also remember that when the Benjamites (though for their just deserts in maintaining a bad cause) were all destroyed, saving 800 (or rather 600), and the men of Israel sware in their fury that none of them would give his daughter to the Benjamites to wife, that when their hot blood was cool, they lamented and said, *There is one tribe cut off from Israel this day* ; and they used all their wits, to the uttermost of their policy, to restore that tribe again.

“ In like sort, if these our brethren aforesaid shall be deprived of their places for the matter premised, I think we shall find cause to lend our wits to the uttermost extent of our skill, to provide some cure of souls for them where they may exercise their talents.

“ Furthermore, if these men, being divers hundreds (as it is bruited abroad), should forsake their charges (as some do presuppose they will), who, I pray you, should succeed them ? Verily, I know not where to find so many able preachers in this realm unprovided for. But be it, that so many may be found to supply their empty rooms, yet they might more conveniently be settled in the seats of unpreaching ministers, and so the number of preachers should be much increased. But if they shall be put in the places of these men, being dispossessed, thereupon would follow: First. That the number of preaching incumbents should not be

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multiplied by this supply. And Secondly. The church could not in likelihood be so well and fitly furnished on a sudden; for that though haply the new supply should be of men as learned as the former, yet it is not probable that they should be at their first coming from the university, as in a good while after, so ready preachers, so experienced in pastoral government, so well acquainted with the manners and usage of the people, and so discreet every way of their carriage of themselves, as the others, who have spent already many years abroad in their ministerial charge.

“Beside this, forasmuch as in the time of the late archbishop of Canterbury, these things were not so extremely urged, but that many learned preachers enjoyed their liberty herein, conditionally, that they did not, by word or deed, openly disgrace or distrust the estate established, I would know a reason why it should now be so generally and exceeding straitly called upon; especially seeing that those means are now more necessary, by so much as we see greater increase of papists to be now of late, than was before? To conclude: I wish, that if by petition made to the king’s majesty, there cannot be obtained a quiet remove of the premises which seem too grievous to divers, nor yet a toleration for them which be of the more staid and temperate carriage; yet at the least there might be procured a mitigation of the penalty, if they cannot be drawn by our reasons to a conformity with us.”¹

¹ Pierce’s Vindication, 158—163. Dr. Grey endeavours to convict Neal of garbling this speech, for which purpose he has printed in brackets such words and clauses as the latter writer had

omitted. They are unimportant to the bishop’s reasoning, and were evidently omitted by Neal for the sake of brevity.—*Examination of Neal’s Second Volume*, 30—36.

CHAPTER XIX.

Elevation of Bancroft—Unconstitutional Decision of the Judges—Severity of Bancroft's Proceedings—Chamberlaine's Account—Sir Dudley Carleton's—Number of Puritans suspended or deprived—The Archbishop compelled to moderate his Severity—His Directions to the Bishops—Brownist Church at Amsterdam—Petition to the King—Baptismal Controversy at Amsterdam—Dispute respecting Discipline.

ABOUT nine months after the decease of Whitgift, CHAP.
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Bancroft was translated from London to the see of JAMES 1.
Canterbury. He was a man of rough temper and of a despotic disposition, whose mind had been Elevation of
Bancroft.
soured by controversy; and who pandered to the evil passions of a feeble and unprincipled king. The reasons of his elevation are thus stated by sir John Harrington. "His majesty had long since understanding of his writing against the *Genevising* and *Scottising* ministers; and though some imagined he had therein given the king some distaste, yet finding him, in the disputations at Hampton Court, both learned and stout, he did more and more increase his liking to him. So that although in the common rumour, Thoby Matthew, then bishop of London, was likeliest to have carried it; so learned a man, and so assiduous a preacher, *qui*

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in concionibus dominatur, as his emulous and enemy wrote of him; yet his majesty, in his learning knowing, and in his wisdom weighing, that this same strict charge (*pasce oves meos*), feed my sheep, requires as well a pastoral courage of driving in the stray sheep, and driving out the infectious, as of feeding the sound; made special choice of the bishop of London, as a man more exercised in affairs of the state. I will add also mine own conjecture out of some of his majesty's own speeches, that in respect he was a single man, he supposed him the fitter, according to queen Elizabeth's principles of state; upon whose wise foundations, his majesty doth daily erect more glorious buildings."^m

Unconstitutional decision of the judges.

Bancroft entered on the duties of his high station with a firm resolution to fulfil the expectations of his prince. The severity of Whitgift having failed, he determined on more sweeping and exterminating measures, in which he was thoroughly supported by the king. In order to afford him the utmost countenance, the twelve judges were summoned into the star chamber, and required to give their judgment on the following questions.

1. Whether the deprivation of puritan ministers by the high commissioners, for refusing to conform to the ceremonies appointed by the late canons, was lawful?

2. Whether a prohibition be grantable against the commissioners upon the statute of 2 Henry V., if they do not deliver the copy of the libel to the party?

3. Whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed peti-

^m *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ii. 25.

tions, and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king in a public cause, as the puritans had done ; with an intimation that if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented ?

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The judges, as was customary at this period of English history, decided in conformity with the known wishes of the court. The substance of their reply was, “that the king, without parliament, might make orders and constitutions for the government of the clergy, and might deprive them if they obeyed not; and so the commissioners might deprive them ; but that the commissioners could not make any new constitutions without the king ; and that to frame petitions and to collect a multitude of hands thereto, &c., was an offence fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment, for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion, and discontent among the people.”ⁿ

Encouraged by the decision of the judges, Bancroft proceeded with unexampled severity to suspend and deprive the non-conforming clergy. He enforced a fresh subscription to Whitgift's three articles, which was now more objectionable to the puritans than formerly, as the 36th canon, lately passed in convocation, required it to be done *willingly* and *ex animo*.^o A strict conformity to the

Severity of
Bancroft's
proceedings.

ⁿ Neal, ii. 36. Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, i. 139.

^o Sparrow, 287. Collier, ii. 687. The latter writer says, “Some who had formerly subscribed in a loose reserved sense, were now called upon to sign their conformity in more close unequivocal terms. For now the 36th canon obliged them to declare that they did *willingly* and *ex animo* subscribe the three articles, and all

things contained in the same ; so that now there was no room left for scruples and different persuasions. And thus some ministers of consideration lost their livings to preserve their conscience : I say to preserve their conscience ; for it is a hard matter to bring every body's understanding to the common standard, and make all honest men of the same mind.”

CHAP. rubric and canons was also enjoined, and no latitude
 XIX. was allowed to tender and scrupulous consciences.

JAMES I. The rulers of the church were not to be satisfied with the most exact and precise obedience. They aimed at a tyranny more complete than that which Rome had achieved; and recklessly punished, to the full extent of their power, all who had sufficient courage or principle to resist their usurpations. The persecution that followed was, consequently, more severe than any which the puritans and Brownists had yet experienced. The former were silenced, and the latter were driven from the kingdom.

Chamber-
 laine's
 account of the
 treatment of
 the puritans.

Mr. John Chamberlaine, a courtier of the time, gives the following account of their treatment, in a letter dated Feb. 26, 1605. "Our puritans go down on all sides; and though our new bishop of London proceeds but slowly, yet, at last, he hath deprived, silenced, or suspended all that continue disobedient; in which course he hath won himself great commendations of gravity, wisdom, learning, mildness, and temperance, even among that faction, and, indeed, is held every way the most sufficient man of that coat; yet those that are deprived wrangle and will not be put down, but appeal to the parliament, and seek prohibitions by law; but the judges have all given their opinions that the proceedings against them are lawful, and so they cannot be relieved that way. Then they take another course—to ply the king with petitions, the ring-leaders whereof were sir Richard and sir Valentine Knightly, sir Edward Montague, with some three or four score of gentlemen more, that joined in a petition for the ministers of Northamptonshire last week, which was so ill taken, that divers of them

were convened before the council, and told what danger they had put themselves in by these associations; and that thus combining themselves in a cause against which the king had shown his dislike, both by public act and proclamation, was little else than treason; that the subscribing with so many names were *armatæ preces*, and tended to sedition, as had been manifestly seen heretofore both in Scotland, France, and Flanders, in the beginning of those troubles.”^p

Sir Dudley Carleton, another courtier of that period, gives a similar account of their treatment, under date of Feb. 20, 1605. “The poor puritan ministers,” he says, “have been ferreted out in all corners, and some of them suspended, others deprived of their livings. Certain lecturers are silenced, and a crew of gentlemen of Northamptonshire (who put up a petition to the king in their behalf), told roundly of their boldness, both at the council table and star chamber. And sir Francis Hastings, for drawing the petition, and standing to it when he had done, is put from his lieutenancy and justiceship of the peace in his shire. Sir Edward Montague and sir Valentine Knightly, for refusing to subscribe to a submission, have the like sentence. The rest, upon acknowledgment of a fault, have no more said to them.”^q

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Sir Dudley
Carleton's
account.

^p Winwood's Memorials, ii. 49.

^q Winwood, ii. 48. It was now esteemed almost treasonable to petition the king on behalf of the puritan ministers. Mr. John More, in a letter to secretary Winwood, dated Dec. 2, 1604, tells him, “The puritans about Royston, to the number of about seven or eight and twenty, presented to the king, as he was hunting there, a

petition in favor of their ministers; a copy thereof I shall be able to send you by the next. The king took in ill part this disorderly proceeding, commanded them presently to depart, and to depute ten of the wisest among them to declare their grievances; which ten were sent to the council, who, after examination, gave them their mittimus. Upon their bail

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Number of
puritans de-
prived and
suspended.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of ministers who were silenced or deprived during this persecution. Calderwood states them at three hundred, but Heylin affirms that they did not exceed forty-nine.^r Heylin's testimony, however, is worthless, when unsupported, as in the present case; while Calderwood's statement is rendered probable by the notoriously puritan bias of a large portion of the clergy, and by the avowed intentions of Bancroft on attaining the primacy. His administration is represented by Heylin as having effected an entire

they are bound to be ready to answer the matter before the lords, when they shall be summoned."
—Ibid., 36.

^r Altare Damascenum, preface. Hist. of the Presby., 376. Calderwood's statement is somewhat confirmed by the fact that James read the volume which contained it, when being "somewhat pensive, and being asked the reason, by an English prelate, standing by and observing it, he told him he had seen such a book; upon which the prelate, not willing his majesty should allow such an affair to trouble him, said they would answer it; he replied, not without some passion, What will you answer, man? There is nothing here than scripture, reason, and fathers." "Had the exiled historian made the number of his suffering brethren to be six times more than it really was, would the king," professor Vaughan justly asks, "have judged any attempt towards answering him to have been souseless?"—Stuart Dynasty, i. 145.

Calderwood's testimony is also supported by the author of *A Short Dialogue, proving that the ceremonies, &c., are defended by none other arguments than such as the papists have heretofore used*, published in 1605. "Although

there hath been," says the writer, "a great deal of cunning used by the bishops to blind the eyes of higher authority, and to stop the clamors of the people; purposely passing by and winking at diverse whose judgement and practice they know well enough; referring some others to another time, and discharging diverse upon special suit and favor; yet the names of those that have been already removed, restrained, or refused to be admitted, together with those that stand under the censure of admonition (and therefore may be removed or restrained when the bishops will), their names, I say, being taken the 1st of November, 1605, amounted to two hundred and seventy and upward. (And yet there were eight bishoprics whereof it could not yet be learned what had been done in them.) Besides sundry who in the desire they had to preach the word, and to provide for their families, having yielded contrary to their consciences, fell into such heaviness upon it, that after they had pined away in sorrow for a time, they died of it. And besides a very great number, who having yielded, or promised to yield, unto conformity, will never be brought unto subscription, whatsoever it cost them."—p. 58.

alteration in the appearance of ecclesiastical affairs; a result which could scarcely have been accomplished without extensive deprivations.^v

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But the archbishop was compelled to stop short of his design by the extent of the opposition which he encountered. Like his predecessors, he had expected to alarm the puritan clergy into submission; but he found their number to be greater, and their resolution more fixed, than he had anticipated. The servile creature of a monarch's will, he was incompetent to estimate the force of moral principle in his opponents. "You have heard," writes Mr. Chamberlaine to secretary Winwood, January 26, 1605, "of the putting off of the parliament till October, the reason whereof I cannot understand nor reach unto, unless it be that they would have all the privy seals paid in, and that they would have those matters of the church thoroughly settled; wherein it is hard to say what course were best to take; for that more show themselves opposite than was suspected, and the bishops themselves are loath to proceed too rigorously in casting out and depriving so many well-reputed of for life and learning, only the king is constant to have all come to conformity."^w

Bancroft
compelled to
moderate his
severity.

This state of things compelled Bancroft to address

His directions
to the bishops,
Dec. 18, 1604.

^v "Hereupon," he says, followed a great alteration in the face of religion; more churches beautified and repaired in this short time of his government, than had been in many years before. The liturgy more solemnly officiated by the priests, and more religiously attended by the common people; the fasts and festivals more punctually observed by both than

of later times. Copes brought again into the service of the church; the surplice generally worn without doubt or hesitancy; and all things in a manner are reduced to the same estate in which they had been first settled under queen Elizabeth."—Hist. of Presby., 376.

^w Winwood, ii. 46.

CHAP. a letter to the bishops, dated December 18, 1604,
 XIX. in which he gives the following directions. "As to
 JAMES I. such ministers as are not already placed in the
 church, the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh canons
 are to be observed ; and none are to be admitted to
 execute any ecclesiastical function without subscrip-
 tion. Such as are already placed in the church are
 of two sorts: 1. Some promise conformity, but are
 unwilling to subscribe again. Of these, forasmuch
 as the near affinity between conformity and sub-
 scription gives apparent hopes that, being men of
 sincerity, they will in a short time frame themselves
 to a more constant course, and subscribe to that
 again which by their practice they testify not to be
 repugnant to the word of God ; your lordship may
 (an act remaining upon record of such their offer
 and promise) respite their subscription for some
 short time. Others in their obstinacy will yield
 neither to subscription nor promise of conformity,
 these are either stipendiary curates, or stipendiary
 lecturers, or men beneficed ; the two first are to be
 silenced, and the third deprived."*

Brownist
 church at
 Amsterdam.

While these events were occurring in England,
 several of the puritans, and many more of the

* Neal's Puritans, ii. 38. " You know," says the author of *A Short Dialogue*, &c., " that, at the first, subscription was hotly urged, and that not by other bishops only, but even by the now archbishop of Canterbury, at such time, as convening all the ministers of London before him, he took his leave, being to go to the see of Canterbury. But when it was discovered that a far greater number would refuse than was supposed, and than his majesty and the lords perhaps were borne in

hand would ; this second course was taken that men should be pressed (for the time) but to conformity, and since (it being discerned that the number of refusers would still be great), they have fallen yet lower, accepting of some the use of the cross and surplice only ; of others the use of the surplice alone ; of others a promise to use them only ; and of some the profession of their judgment only, that they may be used without pressing them to the use of them at all."—p. 3.

Brownists, sought refuge from persecution in Holland. The former became pastors of the English churches formed after the presbyterian model in the low countries, and chaplains to the English regiments occupying the cautionary towns; but the latter were treated with neglect, and experienced great unkindness from the Dutch clergy, who refused them an opportunity of refuting the slanderous reports which were propagated respecting them. Though they had themselves but recently emerged from a state of extreme suffering and peril, they refused their sympathy to the English exiles, and even endeavoured to prepossess the magistracy against them. "They seem evidently to have considered them in the same light in which serious and consistent dissenters from the religious profession of the majority will ever be viewed,—as a set of discontented, factious, and conceited men, with whom it would be safest for them to have no connexion."^y

Mr. Francis Johnson, having been sentenced to perpetual banishment, retired to Amsterdam, where he became the pastor of a church of Brownists; the learned Mr. Henry Ainsworth being doctor or teacher. The principle on which this society was founded was thoroughly protestant. It recognized the exclusive authority of Christ, and the freedom of the church from all other subjection than that which was due to his laws. "The church," says their second petition to king James, "ought not to be governed by popish canons, courts, classes, customs, or any human inventions, but by the laws and rules which Christ hath appointed in his testament."^z

^y Life of Ainsworth, prefixed to his two treatises, p. 17.—Edin. 1789.

^z An Apologic or Defence, 37.

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Unhappily, however, the materials composing this society were discordant, and a scene of contention and unhallowed strife consequently ensued, of which the enemies of the Brownists did not fail to take advantage. Their views were not yet settled. Agreeing in certain general principles, they differed on several minor points, which were gradually elicited in the course of their ecclesiastical administration. A strong antipathy to the church of England held them together so long as they were in the presence of the common foe ; but when the fear of the high commission court and of the star chamber was removed, they began to fall out amongst themselves. This was nothing more than might have been expected. A similar evil had been experienced in the early history of most of the protestant communities of Europe ; and is uniformly witnessed in the transition of a people from servitude to freedom, —from subjection to illegal authority, whether political or ecclesiastical, to the vigorous exercise of independent thought. The contentions which ensued amongst the Brownists at Amsterdam tended, however, to prejudice their cause in general estimation, and was triumphantly referred to by their enemies as a full refutation of their claim to a stricter adherence than was observed by others to the primitive constitution of the church.^a

^a Ainsworth refers to this in his Counter-poyson, in answer to a charge of "great and gross disorder and partiality in administering of discipline," preferred by an opponent on the authority of George Johnson. "Grant," he says, "that this were all true which he reporteth, what would you urge upon it? That therefore Christianity that we profess is

evil? So perhaps a Turk or Jew would do, with as much reason as you can conclude that our separation from you is evil. Was there ever any truth (think you) that men did walk in it as they ought? Or any church in the world, wherein the discipline (as you call it) was administered as it ought? Julian the apostate, that wrote so much against Christ,

The first occasion for dissension was the marriage of the pastor, Mr. Francis Johnson, in 1594, to a widow of some fortune.^b His father and his brother George, both members of the church, objected to this marriage, alleging that the party in question was addicted to luxurious living and to finery in dress, and was consequently an unsuitable wife for their pastor in a season of persecution. Francis, however, persisted in his intention; and a dispute hence arose, which continued, with increasing irritation and warmth of temper, till 1598, when George Johnson, his father, and some members who adhered to him, were expelled. It is difficult to ascertain the precise moral position of the conflicting parties on this occasion. The excommunication of a father and brother wears a harsh and repulsive aspect, but there were probably circumstances to justify the step.^c The fact that their expulsion was sanctioned

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reading the testimonies of Moses, the prophets, and apostles, had as good ground to blame the Israelites and Christians for their manners and discipline, and consequently to dissuade them from their faith, as you do us; yea, we might allege faithful and undeniable witnesses, whereas you rely upon a slanderer. Finally, what aim you at in all this, but to draw us back unto your church; and there it is like we shall find *discipline* without *disorder* or *partiality*; to wit, in your bishops' courts, for there the discipline of your courts is to be seen. Of which we need say nothing; the voice almost of all the land crieth out of their abominations. Only we observe how pregnant your observations are to make us believe that because there are sins in Zion, there be none in Babylon." —p. 50.

^b Neal confounds this unhappy debate with another that followed, but was altogether distinct from it. In the former, Francis Johnson was supported by Ainsworth, but in the latter he was opposed by him.—Life of Ainsworth, p. 30.

^c Ainsworth says that George Johnson was cast out of the church "for lying and slandering, false accusation, and contention."—Counter-poyson, p. 50. Robinson's account is as follows, "True it is that George Johnson, together with his father taking his part, was excommunicated by the church for contention arising at first, upon no great occasion; whereupon many bitter and reproachful terms were uttered both in word and writing, George becoming a disgraceful libeller."—Life of Ainsworth, p. 30.

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by such men as Ainsworth and Robinson, must strongly incline an impartial judgment to this conviction. It is probable that both parties became heated in the course of the discussion, and ultimately acted under the impulse of irritated feeling rather than of a pure zeal for the honor of the Christian profession.

Petitions to
king James.

On the accession of James, the Brownist church at Amsterdam, in connexion with some of their brethren in England, presented successively three petitions to him, the second of which is particularly interesting as containing a statement of the points wherein they differed from the church of England. "To the end," they say, "that your majesty might have the very points of difference between them and us noted down apart by themselves, we thought it good and behoveful to reduce them to these few and particular heads ensuing; wherein we take the difference between us to consist."

The following are the principal of these points.

"1. That Christ the Lord hath by his last testament given to his church, and set therein, sufficient ordinary offices, with the manner of calling or entrance, works and maintenance, for the administration of his holy things, and for the sufficient ordinary instruction, guidance, and service of his church, to the end of the world.

"2. That every particular church hath like and full interest and power to enjoy and practise all the ordinances of Christ given by him to his church, to be observed therein perpetually.

"3. That every true visible church is a company of people called and separated from the world by the word of God, and joined together by voluntary

profession of the faith of Christ, in the fellowship of the gospel. . . .

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“4. That discreet, faithful, and able men (though not yet in office of ministry) may be appointed to preach the gospel and whole truth of God; that men, being first brought to knowledge, and converted to the Lord, may be there joined together in holy communion with Christ our head, and one with another.

“5. That being thus joined, every church hath power in Christ, to choose and take unto themselves meet and sufficient persons into the offices and functions of pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, and helpers, as those which Christ hath appointed in his testament, for the feeding, governing, serving, and building up of his church. . . .

“6. That the ministers aforesaid, being lawfully called by the church where they are to minister, ought to continue in their functions according to God’s ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of Christ committed unto them; being not enjoined or suffered to bear civil offices withal, neither burdened with the execution of civil affairs, as the celebration of marriage, burying the dead, &c.; which things belong to those as well without as within the church.

“7. That the due maintenance of the officers aforesaid should be of the free and voluntary contribution of the church; that, according to Christ’s ordinance, they which preach the gospel may live of the gospel, and not by popish lordships and livings, or jewish tithes and offerings. And that therefore the lands and other like revenues of the prelates and clergy yet remaining (being still also baits to allure

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the jesuits and seminaries into the land, and incitements unto them to plot and prosecute their wonted evil courses, in hope to enjoy them in time to come), may now by your highness be taken away and converted to better use, as those of the abbeys and nunneries have been heretofore by your majesties worthy predecessors, to the honor of God, and great good of the realm.

“ 8. That all particular churches ought to be so constituted, as, having their own peculiar officers, the whole body of every church may meet together in one place, and jointly perform their duties to God, and one towards another. And that the censures of admonition and excommunication be in due manner executed for sin convicted and obstinately stood in. This power also to be in the body of the church whereof the parties so offending and persisting are members.

“ 9. That the church be not governed by popish canons, courts, classes, customs, or any human inventions, but by the laws and rules which Christ hath appointed in his testament. That no apocryphal writings, but only the canonical scriptures, be used in the church. And that the Lord be worshipped and called upon in spirit and in truth, according to that form of prayer given by the Lord Jesus, Matt. vi., and after the liturgy of his own testament, not by any other framed or imposed by men, much less by one translated from the popish liturgy as the book of common prayer.”^d

Shortly after the presentation of these petitions the peace of the church was again disturbed by a controversy respecting some points of doctrine, and

Rise of the
baptismal
controversy
at Amster-
dam.

^d An Apologie or Defence, p. 36.

the mode and subjects of christian baptism. Mr. John Smith was the leader of the dissenting party on this occasion. He had suffered severely in England as a puritan; and having, in the course of his inquiries, seen reason to embrace the principles of the Brownists, he repaired to Amsterdam, where he settled in 1606. His theological sentiments, which were very similar to those espoused by Arminius, became the occasion of unhappy collision with his brethren.* But his views on the subject of baptism were still more obnoxious, and awakened an angry and fierce controversy, in which the sacredness of character and the charity of the gospel were alike disregarded. His sentiments on this latter point were substantially the same as those now held by the English baptists; and the mode in which he arrived at them was as follows: Smith did not hastily determine on a separation from the church of England. He was a patient investigator of the divine word, and cautiously felt out his way from the errors in which he had been educated.^f His

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* Mr. Smith's enemies charged him with various singular notions; as, that it was unlawful to read the scriptures in public worship; that no translation of the bible was the word of God; that singing the praises of God was unlawful, &c. The quarter whence these charges emanate involves them in suspicion. "We disclaim," says Smith, "the errors commonly, but most slanderously, imputed to us. We are indeed traduced by the world as atheists by denying the old testament and the Lord's day; as traitors to magistrates in denying magistracy; and as heretics in denying the humanity of Christ, &c."—*The Character of the Beast, or the*

False Constitution of the Church Discovered. Ep. to the Reader, 5. Ed. 1609.

^f Mr. Smith's successive changes of opinion have subjected him to the charge of having an "unsettled head." His accusers have forgotten the progressive nature of the changes he underwent. "For a man," he himself remarks, "if a Turk to become a Jew, if a Jew to become a papist, if a papist to become a protestant, are all commendable changes, though they all of them befall one and the same person in one year, nay, if it were in one month; so that not to change religion is evil simply; and therefore that we should fall from the profession of

CHAP. habit of close and protracted inquiry made him
XIX. sensible of the difficulties attaching to the system

JAMES I. he embraced, and enabled him to detect some inconsistencies in the practice of its disciples. The Brownists, whom he joined, denied the church of England to be a true church, and the ordination of its ministers to be valid. They were consequently in the habit of re-ordaining such of the clergy as joined them, yet never questioned the validity of the baptism which had been administered within her pale. This occurred to the inquiring mind of Smith as an inconsistency, and led him to a further investigation of the subject, which resulted in a rejection of infant baptism, and a firm conviction that immersion was the only scriptural mode of its administration. Having arrived at this conclusion, he did not hesitate to avow it, and the consequence was his expulsion from the Brownist church. An angry controversy ensued, in which both parties impugned the motives and slandered the character of their opponents. Whether there was any thing censurable in Mr. Smith's mode of announcing his change of sentiment to his brethren, does not appear; but their conduct in separating him from their communion cannot be justified without an admission of the principle on which religious persecution is based. The right which it assumed involved, though in a more subtle form, the same spirit as had reigned in the councils of Whitgift and Bancroft. It was a narrow and exclusive spirit, the prevalence of which has unhappily de-

puritanism to Brownism, and from Brownism to true christian baptism, is not simply evil or reprovable in itself, except it be

proved that we have fallen from true religion."—*The Character of the Beast*. Ep. to Reader, 1.

stroyed the genuine character of the churches of Christ, and rendered them the rallying points of faction—the nurseries of sectarianism and illiberality. Differences of opinion on minor points of christian belief and conduct are perfectly consistent with the fellowship of the saints, and will be found, when a catholic constitution is generally adopted by christian societies, greatly to contribute to their moral influence. The genuine nature of their association will then shine forth, and be seen of all. Ten thousand suspicions, with which they are now regarded, will be abandoned, and the integrity of their profession and the benevolence of their design will be universally admitted.^g

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While the church at Amsterdam, in excluding Mr. Smith and his associates, arrogated a power with which no christian society is invested, Mr.

^g Much has been said about Mr. Smith having baptized himself. Ainsworth, Jessop, and some others of his opponents charge him with having done so, and make use of the alleged fact to awaken the ridicule of their readers, or to invalidate his administration of the ordinance. I confess that the matter does not appear to me to be of so much importance as some baptist authors deem it; nor do I think it so easy to determine the truth or falsity of the statement as the writers on both sides conclude it to be. The mere fact that such a statement was made by the contemporaries of Smith, and that no direct denial of it has come down to us, gives it some appearance of truth. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that the parties making the statement were angry controversialists, who

spared no invective or abuse, but seemed to think every epithet appropriate, and every assertion lawful, by which they could injure the reputation, or render ridiculous the proceedings of their opponent. Mr. Smith's defences of himself are not now known. His enemies adduce long quotations from his writings, but no one of them admits the fact with which he was charged, or attempts to justify it. He doubtless must have referred to it, and had he, in doing so, made the slightest admission, they would readily have retailed his language. It is a further confirmation of this view of the case that contemporaneous writers, referring to the baptismal controversy amongst the Brownists, and that with no friendly design, make no reference to such a fact. See Crosby's Baptists. i. 95. Ivimey's Baptists, i. 118.

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Smith himself referred to his brethren in a spirit and with language foreign from the temper of Christianity. In the violence of his opposition he adopted against the Brownists a course of reasoning precisely similar to that which they were accustomed to use against the church of England, and borrowed from their vocabulary the most offensive terms which they were in the habit of applying to the hierarchy. "Be it known, therefore," says Mr. Smith, "to all the separation, that we account them, in respect of their constitution, to be as very a harlot as either her mother England or her grandmother Rome is, out of whose loins she came; and although once in our ignorance we have acknowledged her a true church, yet now, being better informed, we revoke that our erroneous judgment, and protest against her, as well for her false constitution as for her false ministry, worship, and government. The true constitution of the church is of a new creature baptized into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; the false constitution is of infants baptized. We profess, therefore, that all those churches that baptize infants are of the same false constitution; and all those churches that baptize the new creature, those that are made disciples by teaching men, confessing their faith and their sins, are of one true constitution; and therefore the church of the separation, being of the same constitution with England and Rome, is a most unnatural daughter to her mother England and her grandmother Rome, who, being of the self-same genealogy and generation (that of the prophet being true of her, "as is the mother so is the daughter"), she dare, notwithstanding, most

impudently wipe her own mouth, and call her mother and grandmother adulteresses. Herein, CHAP.
XIX.
therefore, we do acknowledge our error, that we, JAMES I.
retaining the baptism of England which gave us our constitution, did call our mother England a harlot, and, upon a false ground, made our separation from her; for although it be necessary that we separate from England, yet no man can separate from England as from a false church, except he also do separate from the baptism of England, which giveth England her constitution; and whosoever doth retain the baptism of England doth withal retain the constitution of England, and cannot without sin call England a harlot, as we have done; and this we desire may be well minded of all that separate from England; for, if they retain the baptism of England, viz. the baptism of infants as true baptism, they cannot separate from England as from a false church, though they may separate from corruption; and whosoever doth separate from England as from a false church, must needs separate from the baptism of England as from false baptism. For the baptism of England cannot be true, and to be retained, and the church of England false, and to be rejected; neither can the church of England possibly be false, except the baptism be false, unless a true constitution could be in a false church. Therefore the separation must either go back to England, or go forward to true baptism. And all that shall in time to come separate from England must separate from the baptism of England; and if they will not separate from the baptism of England, there is no reason

CHAP. why they should separate from England as from a
XIX. false church.”^h

JAMES I. Mr. Smith’s followers, who were numerous, formed themselves into a church in Amsterdam, of which he became the pastor. He died about the year 1610, having given rise to a controversy that was productive of numerous publications, in which the strength of the contending parties was put forth with all the ardour and passionate zeal of which human nature is capable. His principal antagonists were Johnson, Robinson, Clifton, and Ainsworth, who brought to the discussion every advantage which profound erudition and extensive biblical researches could furnish. His sentiments, however, rapidly spread, and were shortly afterwards conveyed by some of his disciples into England.ⁱ

Dispute re-
specting dis-
cipline,

The church at Amsterdam was subjected to another division, in which Mr. Francis Johnson, the pastor, and Mr. Ainsworth, the teacher, were

^h The Character of the Beast, or the False Constitution of the Church Discovered, &c., Epistle to the Reader, i. 3. Bishop Hall, in his treatise against the Brownists, adopts the reasonings of Smith in this passage. “There is no remedy,” he says; “either you must go forward to anabaptism, or come back to us; all your rabbins cannot answer that charge of your re-baptized brother. If we be a true church, you must return; if we be not (as a false church is no church of God), you must re-baptize. If our baptism be good, then is our constitution good; thus your own principles teach. The outward part of the true visible church is a vow, promise, oath, or covenant betwixt God and the

saints. Now I ask, is this made by us in baptism or no? if it be, then we have, by your confession (for so much as is outwardly required), a true visible church; so your separation is unjust. If it be not, then you must re-baptize; for the first baptism is a nullity; and (if ours be not) you were never thereby as yet entered into any visible church.”—A Common Apologie of the Church of England against the Unjust Challenges of the over-just sect, commonly called Brownists, p. 31.

ⁱ The rapid prevalence of Mr. Smith’s views is acknowledged by contemporaneous authority. Crosby’s Hist. of the Baptists, i. 94.

opposed to each other. It originated in some question of discipline, which elicited a difference of opinion between these estimable men, and led to their separation.^j Johnson is reported to have placed the government of the church in the eldership, and Ainsworth in the whole body of members. The former opinion generally prevailed among the puritans, while the latter was maintained by the Brownists with increasing distinctness, and marks their approach to the modern independents.^k Mr.

^j Ainsworth published an account of this dispute, entitled, *An Animadversion to Mr. Richard Clifton's Advertisement, who, under pretence of answering Mr. Chr. Laune's book, hath published another man's private letter, with Mr. Francis Johnson's Answer thereto, which letter is here justified; the Answer thereto refuted; and the true causes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the English exiled church at Amsterdam manifested.* 1613.

^k It was customary with the opponents of the Brownists to represent them as derogating from the scriptural authority of the pastoral office. The charge, however, is disproved by the whole tenor of their writings. Ainsworth, in his treatise on *The Communion of Saints*, after stating the obligation laid on the whole church to maintain the laws of Christ, speaks thus of the province of the minister: "But chiefly this pertaineth to the ministers and watchmen of the church, who, having the word of reconciliation committed unto them, and overseeing the manners of all the flock, must preach that word, be instant in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all longsuffering and doctrine; they must hear the word at God's mouth, and give the people warning from him,

admonishing them of their wicked ways, else they shall die in their sins, and their blood shall be required at those watchmen's hands. They must teach the people the difference between the holy and profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean. These have the keys of the kingdom of heaven in more special manner given unto them, for the binding and loosing of sins by the public ministry of the word. They are to guide and go before the people, as in other affairs, so in administering the censures of the church. By such God of old did pluck up and root out, destroy and throw down, and again build up and plant; by such he cut down sinners in Israel, and slew them by the word of his mouth. Unto such the people are to hearken only, and submit themselves."—p. 233. Edinb. 1789.

Mr. Robinson, pastor of the English church at Leyden, is equally explicit in maintaining the scriptural supremacy of the pastor. "The papists," he says, "plant the ruling power of Christ in the pope, the protestants in the bishops, the puritans in the presbytery; we put it in the body of the congregation, of the multitude called the church. We profess, however, the bishops or elders to be the only ordinary governors in the church, as in all other actions

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Neal states "that Ainsworth and half the congregation excommunicated Johnson, who, after some time, returned the same compliment to Ainsworth."

But Mr. John Cotton, who was far removed from Brownism, and who lived in the midst of those who had been concerned in the dispute, asserts, in reply to Baillie, on whose authority Neal relies, that "Mr. Ainsworth and his company did not excommunicate Johnson and his party, but only withdrew from them when they could live no longer peaceably."¹ A separate congregation was thus formed, over which Mr. Ainsworth presided, who is said to have been succeeded by Mr. John Canne, the author of marginal references to the bible.

of the church's communion, so also in the censures. Only we may not acknowledge them for lords over God's heritage, controlling all, but to be controlled by none; much less essential unto the church, as though it could not be without them; least of all the church itself, as some expound Matt. xviii. 17. We hold the eldership as other ordinances given unto the church for her service, and to the elders or officers, the servants and ministers of the church under Christ, as the scriptures expressly affirm."—Life of Ainsworth, 32.

¹ Way of the Congregational Church, p. 6. Heylin exults in these contentions, and displays at once his ignorance and his bigotry in the account which he has furnished of them. "To such ridiculous follies," says this unprincipled writer, "are men commonly brought, when once presuming on some *new light* to direct their actions, they suffer themselves to be misguided by the

ignis fatuus of their own inventions. And in this position stood the *brethren of the separation*, anno 1606, when *Smith* first published his book of the present differences between the churches of the *separation*, as he honestly calls them. But afterwards there grew another great dispute, between *Ainsworth* and *Broughton*, whether the colour of *Aaron's* linen *ephod* were of *blue*, or a *sea-water green*, which did not only trouble all the *dyers in Amsterdam*, but drew their several followers into sides and factions, and made good sport to all the world but themselves alone. By reason of which divisions and subdivisions they fell at last into so many fractions, that one of them in the end became a church of himself, and, having none to join in opinion with him, baptized himself, and thereby got the name of a *Se-baptist*, which never any sectary or heretic had obtained before."—Hist. of Presb., 379.

CHAPTER XX.

Arbitrary policy of Bancroft—Principles of the more rigid Puritans—Impolitic Treatment of the moderate Puritans—Injury done to the Church by the arbitrary Principles of the Clergy—Parliament of 1610—Imprisonment of Mr. Fuller—Emigration to Virginia—Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury—New Translation of the Bible—Burning of Socinians—Return of Baptists to England—Consistent Advocates of Religious Liberty—Rise of the Independents at Leyden—Formation of the first Independent Church.

WHILE the exiles were thus contending amongst themselves, their brethren in England were persecuted with increasing fury. The rough temper and despotic principles of Bancroft found an appropriate sphere of operation in enforcing the most obnoxious rites of the hierarchy. He left the puritans no other alternative but of promising a complete and constant conformity, or of resigning their ministry. This reduced them to a dilemma from which many of them shrunk; but the dictates of conscience were imperative, and they honestly abided by them. So long as it was practicable, they clung to the establishment; but, when the archbishop demanded an unreserved approval of the ceremonies, they came to the conclusion that it

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Arbitrary policy of Bancroft.

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— test,” say they, “before the Almighty God, that
JAMES I. we acknowledge the churches of England, as they
be established by public authority, to be true visible
churches of Christ; that we desire the continuance
of our ministry in them above all earthly things,
as that without which our whole life would be
wearisome and bitter to us; that we dislike not a
set form of prayer to be used in our churches, nor
do we write with an evil mind to deprave the book
of common prayer, ordination, or book of homilies;
but to show our reasons why we cannot subscribe
to all things contained in them.” The ministers
composing this section of the puritan body were
called brethren of the second separation, being
willing to unite with the church in her doctrine
and sacraments, but unable to declare their approval
of her ceremonies.^m They were conscientious men,
whose scruples were entitled to respect, and whose
co-operation should have been honestly sought by
the rulers of the church.

Principles of
the more ri-
gid puritans.

The puritan body was now divided into several
classes, some of which still maintained the unlaw-
fulness of separation, but others of them were
driven, by the force of circumstances, to advocate
their right of worshipping the Deity in accordance
with the dictates of their conscience. The prin-
ciples of the latter class were set forth by Mr.
Bradshaw, in a small treatise, entitled, *English
Puritanisme, containing the Maine Opinions of the
rigidest sort of those that are called Puritans in the
Realme of England*. “It cannot be unknown,”
says the author, in his address to the *indifferent*

^m 1 Neal, ii. 54.

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reader, “that those christians in this realm which are called by the odious and vile name of puritans, are accused by the prelates to the king’s majesty and state to maintain many absurd, erroneous, schismatical, and heretical opinions concerning religion, church government, and the civil magistracy, which hath moved me to collect, as near as I could, the chief of them, and to send them naked to the view of all men, that they may see what is the worst that the worst of them hold. It is not my part to prove and justify them. Those that accuse and condemn them must, in all reason and equity, prove their accusation, or else bear the name of unchristian slanderers.” The treatise is divided into six chapters, the first of which treats of “religion, or the worship of God in general.” The absolute authority of the inspired volume as “the sole canon and rule of all matters of religion and the worship and service of God,” is explicitly maintained, and it is declared to be a “sin to force any christian to do any act of religion, or divine service, that cannot evidently be warranted by the same.” The authority of the word of God is represented to extend over the ceremonies of religion equally with its doctrines, “it being a sin to perform any other worship to God, whether external or internal, moral or ceremonial, in whole or in part, than that which God requires in his word.”

The second chapter treats of the nature of a church, which it describes as “an assembly of true believers, joining together in the true worship of God.” All such assemblies are said to be possessed of the same spiritual privileges, to be free from ex-

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ternal ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to have the right of choosing their own officers. Such a constitution is affirmed to be in "no ways repugnant to any civil state whatsoever, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical, but to tend to the further establishing and advancing of the right and prerogatives of all of them."

Chapter the third treats of the ministers of the church, and asserts pastors, teachers, and ruling elders to be the highest spiritual officers thereof. Civil jurisdiction and authority are affirmed to be incompatible with their spiritual functions, which consist in the preaching of the gospel, interpreting the written word, &c., and in applying its exhortations and reproofs to the people.^a

Chapter the fourth treats of the elders of the church, whom it represents "as assistants unto the ministers in the spiritual regiment of the congregations, who are by office, jointly with the ministers of the word, to be as monitors and overseers of the manners and conversation of all the congregation."

In the fifth chapter, concerning spiritual censures, the keys of the church are said to be committed to its officers, who are to proceed only

^a The puritans are frequently represented by their enemies as delighting in a fanciful and absurd interpretation of the sacred scriptures. Some of their number have undoubtedly subjected themselves to such a charge, as have many of their opponents. But as a body they were distinguished by a sober adherence to the grammatical sense of the inspired writings. "They hold," says Mr. Bradshaw, "that in interpreting

the scriptures, and opening the sense of them, he (the pastor or minister) ought to follow those rules only that are followed in finding out the meaning of other writings, to wit, by weighing the propriety of the tongue wherein they are written, by weighing the circumstance of the place, by comparing one place with another, and by considering what is properly spoken, and what tropically or figuratively."

against open and proved crimes, to abstain from odious and contumelious speeches towards the guilty, and to use all civil respect to their superiors in the execution of the church's censures.^o The oath *ex officio* is reprobated in the strongest terms, "as damnable and tyrannous against the very law of nature, devised by antichrist, through the inspiration of the devil."

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In the last chapter, which treats of the authority of the civil magistrate, his supremacy over all the churches within his dominions is asserted, while at the same time it is maintained that, as a member of some particular congregation, he ought to be subject to the laws which Christ has appointed for the government of his church. All archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries are asserted to derive their authority from the will of the prince, and to

^o The language employed in this treatise clearly disproves the charges preferred against the puritans, of symbolizing with Rome in its subjection of the civil to the ecclesiastical power. Speaking of the keys of discipline, the author says his brethren "hold that they are not to be put to this use, to lock up the crowns, swords, or sceptres of princes and civil states, or the civil rights, prerogatives, and immunities of civil subjects in the things of this life, or to use them as picklocks to open withal men's treasures and coffers, or as keys of prisons, to shut up the bodies of men."

Kings and all rulers were regarded by the puritans as moral beings, who owed to God the same subjection as others. As members of the christian church they are under the common laws of God's household, yet the most

respectful carriage is to be observed towards them, in the infliction of any censure. "They hold," says Bradshaw, "that if the party offending be their civil superior, that then they are to use ever, throughout the whole carriage of their censure, all civil compliments, offices, and reverence due unto him; that they are not to presume to convert him before them, but are themselves to go in all civil and humble manner unto him, to stand bare before him, to bow unto him, to give him all civil titles belonging unto him. And if he be a king and supreme ruler, they are to kneel down before him, and, in the humblest manner, to censure his faults, so that he may see apparently that they are not carried with the least spice of malice against his person, but only with zeal of the health and salvation of his soul.

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Bradshaw, "that there should be no ecclesiastical officer so high, but that he ought to be subject unto, and punishable by, the meanest civil officer in a kingdom, city, or town, not only for common crimes, but even for the abuse of the ecclesiastical offices; yea, they hold that they ought to be more punishable than any other subject whatsoever, if they shall offend against either civil or ecclesiastical laws."

Such were the sentiments entertained by the most rigid class of puritans; but the voice of truth was for a time drowned by the clamor of faction. Their defence was unheeded, and a thousand calumnies were propagated against them by angry controversialists and interested priests. But the delusion is now happily passing away.

Impolitic
treatment of
the moderate
puritans.

A cautious and prudent policy would have dictated to the archbishop the employment of conciliatory measures, with a view of separating the more moderate puritans from the other members of that body. The divisions existing among his opponents afforded him a favorable opportunity of dividing their forces; and, had he been wise to discern the signs of the times, and sufficiently honest to have improved them, the church might yet have been preserved from the calamitous overthrow which awaited her. But the moderation of this party was far from securing them any favor. They were represented by the bishops as "schismatics, enemies to the king's supremacy and the state, and not to be tolerated in the church or commonwealth." They repelled the charge with

honest indignation, declaring that they cheerfully yielded obedience to the king in things indifferent, as well as in such as were necessary, so far as the law of God and the sacredness of conscience permitted. They invited the bishops to a public discussion on the lawfulness of imposing ceremonies, and on the propriety of retaining the surplice, the cross in baptism, and other rites of the church. This was prudently declined, on which the Lincolnshire ministers presented to the king an apology for those who refused subscription and conformity.^p An abridgment of this apology was afterwards printed, under the title of *An Abridgment of that book which the Ministers of Lincoln Diocese delivered to his Majesty upon the first of December last, being the first part of an Apology for themselves and their brethren that refuse the subscription and conformity which is required.* 1605. In this publication they declare that none of their number had ever refused to subscribe to the king's supremacy, but that the book of common prayer, and the other books to which they were required to subscribe willingly, and ex animo, did "contain in them sundry things which are not agreeable, but contrary to the word of God."^q Their exceptions to the book of common prayer and to the ceremonies are stated in respectful but firm language, and their general principles display the progress which had been made even by the most moderate of the puritans. The earlier nonconformists objected to the imposition of the ceremonies on the ground of their indifference; but the plea of unlawfulness was now urged by the most temperate of their successors.

^p Neal, ii. 48.

^q Abridgment, p. 1.

CHAP. XX. “It is contrary,” they say, “to God’s word to use

— (much more to command the use of) such ceremonies in the worship of God as man hath devised, if they be notoriously known to have been of old, and still to be abused unto idolatry or superstition by the papists especially, if the same be now of no necessary use.”^r

Injury done
to the church
by the arbitrary
principles of the
clergy.

The Abridgment was answered by bishop Moreton and Dr. Burgess, and the controversy it awakened engaged the most able and zealous writers of both parties. They put forth their strength as if aware that the battle of the church of England was being fought. All that learning, and diligence, and zeal could accomplish, was performed on her behalf; but her cause declined. The public mind had received an unfavorable impression, which the talents and self-devotion of her advocates could not efface; and it only required the deeper atrocities of Laud’s administration to precipitate her fall. The church of England sustained much injury from the zeal with which many of her advocates defended the most criminal and foolish of those invasions of popular right which were practised by the king. There was no assumption which this vain and arbitrary monarch could make which did not find its ready defenders amongst the clergy. The liberal spirits of the nation were thus offended, and an alliance was proclaimed between political despotism and clerical conformity. This would have been a perilous state of things for the church at any period; but it was especially so during the reign of James, whose character possessed no qualities which could redeem his assumptions from

^r Abridgment, p. 17.

contempt, and his apologists from reproach. In 1609, the house of commons sent a message to the lords, "that they had taken notice of a book lately published by one Dr. Cowel, which they conceived does contain matters of scandal and offence towards the high court of parliament, and is otherwise of dangerous consequence and example." They therefore requested a conference, which was granted; but the king interfered to prevent their inflicting any penalty on the defender of his prerogative.^s

In the last session of this parliament, held in 1610, the spirit of English liberty spoke out with a firmness which alarmed the monarch, and encouraged the hopes of the puritans. In order to stop some bold members whose speeches contained severe reflections on the administration, both of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, the king summoned both houses to Whitehall, and told them that he did not intend to govern by the absolute power of a king, but should confine himself within the laws of the empire. This temperate assurance did but ill comport with his exaggerated and ridiculous descriptions of monarchical power. "The state of monarchy," said the royal sophist, "is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne; but even by God himself they are called God." The power of kings is compared to that of the Deity; and it is declared as an axiom in divinity, "That as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power." The two houses were then commanded not to

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^s Parliamentary History, i. 1122—1124.

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meddle with the main points of government, which the king termed his craft, nor to touch the ancient rights of the crown, nor to exhibit as a grievance any thing established by law, and to which they were aware that he would not return a favorable answer.^t Such were the unconstitutional doctrines and advice of the first of the Stuarts. Had James possessed the intrepidity of some of his predecessors, he might have bowed the spirit of the nation to his pleasure; but his timidity exposed his pretensions to contempt, while other features of his character awakened the disgust and abhorrence of every virtuous mind.

Parliament of
1610.

But the commons were not to be deterred by such reasonings from the discharge of their constitutional duties. They consequently presented petitions to the king, complaining of the grievances which the nation suffered, and praying that they might be redressed. In one of these petitions, referring to the case of the puritans, they say, "Whereas diverse painful and learned pastors, that have long travelled in the work of the ministry with good fruit and blessing of their labors, who were ever ready to perform the legal subscription appointed by the statute of 13 Elizabeth, which only concerneth the confession of the true Christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments, yet for not conforming in some points of ceremonies, and refusing the subscription directed by the late canons, have been removed from their ecclesiastical livings, being their freehold, and debarred from all means of maintenance, to the great grief of sundry your majesty's well-affected subjects; seeing the whole people that

^t King James's Works, 527---548.

want instruction are by this means punished, and through ignorance lie open to the seducements of popish and ill-affected persons; we therefore most humbly beseech your majesty would be graciously pleased that such deprived and silenced ministers may, by license or permission of the reverend fathers, in their several dioceses, instruct and preach unto their people in such parishes and places where they may be employed; so as they apply themselves in their ministry to wholesome doctrine and exhortation, and live quietly and peaceably in their callings, and shall not, by writing or preaching, impugn things established by public authority.”^u

Bancroft's arbitrary disposition led him to regard with extreme disfavor every effort to secure for the puritans a fair construction of the laws by which they were punished. Mr. Thomas Lad, a merchant of Yarmouth, and Mr. Maunsel, a minister of that town, being convicted by the high commission in 1610, were committed to prison without the privilege of bail. Having claimed a writ of habeas corpus, their cause was argued by Mr. Nicholas Fuller, a bencher of Gray's inn, who fearlessly pleaded for their discharge, maintaining that the ecclesiastical commissioners had no power to imprison, to administer the oath *ex officio*, or to inflict any fine. The archbishop was incensed at his intrepidity, and represented him to the king as a champion of the nonconformists, of whom an example ought to be made. James listened to the base insinuation, and Mr. Fuller was cast into prison, where he was detained for the remainder of

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Imprison-
ment of Mr.
Fuller.

^u Harris's James I., p. 275.

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his life.^v Such atrocious examples of tyranny, however they might gratify the resentment of Bancroft, and allay the apprehensions of his timid master, were far from promoting the interests of the church. The imprisonment of Fuller did more to alienate his profession and the public at large from the rulers of the church, than the writings of the most able controversialist of the day. "The strong holds of tyranny are rarely demolished until some noble natures have perished in the breach."^w

Emigration
to Virginia.

The severity with which they were treated, led many of the puritans to resolve on emigrating to Virginia, then an uncultivated waste. They preferred a wilderness, with all the privations and toil which it involved, to a further endurance of the oppressions of the archbishop. But even this miserable refuge was denied them, for when some of their number had repaired thither, and others were about to join them, Bancroft obtained a proclamation from James, forbidding them to proceed without a royal license.^x So unscrupulous and impolitic was the tyranny he exercised; and yet protestant historians can be found to commend his government and to exhibit him as an example worthy of the imitation of his successors.

^v Fuller, x. 55. Pierce's Vind., p. 174. The former writer speaks of this circumstance as "an unexpected rub" to the archbishop while "driving on conformity very fiercely throughout all his province."

^w Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, i. 280.

^x Even the author of the Book of the Church censures this act of Bancroft. "With an impolicy," Dr. Southey says, "gross as his intolerance, when several puritan

families migrated to Virginia, that they might form a church there, according to their own opinions, and great numbers were preparing to follow them; this imprudent primate, instead of rejoicing that so many intractable spirits were willing to transport themselves out of the country, obtained a proclamation whereby they were forbidden to leave it without a special license from the king."—ii. 344.

Bancroft closed his merciless and persecuting career in 1610; and was succeeded by Abbot, who had been successively bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and of London. His elevation to the primacy is attributable to the earl of Dunbar, one of the favorites of James; and was deplored by the admirers of the policy of Whitgift and Bancroft.^f Abbot was a thorough Calvinist, a zealous enemy of popery, and an advocate of mild and tolerant measures towards the puritans. Lord Clarendon has displayed the partizan spirit of his history in his sketch of the character of this prelate. He contrasts his government of the church with that of Bancroft, "who understood the church excellently," he tells us, "and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the nonconformists, by and after the conference at Hampton Court; and if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva. But Abbot," his lordship remarks, "brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously. For the strict observance of the discipline of the church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered wholly to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake did not think so ill of

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Elevation of
Abbot.

^f On the death of Bancroft, the bishops recommended Andrews, bishop of Ely, as his successor; but the influence of the Scotch prelate prevailed, and Abbot was appointed. — Heylin's Presby., 338. Collier, ii. 703.

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the discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him.”^z

New transla-
tion of the
Bible.
1611.

In the year 1611, the translation of the sacred scriptures now in use was completed and published by authority. It had been undertaken at the request of the puritans in the Hampton Court conference, and was designed to exhibit a more faithful rendering of the original, than any previous version had done. So early as the year 1604, the king commissioned fifty-four learned men to undertake this important labor, directing them, amongst other things, to adhere to the bishops’ Bible then in use, so far as the original would permit; to retain the old ecclesiastical terms; and when words admitted of divers significations, to prefer that one which had been most generally used by the most eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith. Their number was subsequently reduced by death to forty-seven, who were divided into six classes; and the manner in which they prosecuted their design was well

^z Hist. of the Rebellion, i. 157. The personal character and government of Abbot are more correctly described by a modern writer, whose impartiality I cheerfully record, having had occasion to express my dissent from his representation of another case. “Abbot,” says Mr. Lathbury, “was a man of an amiable disposition, and opposed to severe measures against the puritans.

The reins of discipline were relaxed during his administration; he never moved a single step beyond the line marked out by the law; nor did he attend to the complaints relative to the non-conforming ministers, who became more open in their opposition, through the archbishop’s laxity.” —Hist. of the English Episcopacy, 75.

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adapted, on the whole, to secure a faithful and perspicuous version. The king is certainly entitled to great praise for the part he acted in this matter ; and it is deeply to be regretted that none of his successors have emulated his zeal in this best feature of his reign.^a

Burning of
Bartholomew
Legate,
1612.

The following year was distinguished by the last of those barbarous scenes in which the ferocious and fiendish nature of spiritual intolerance are so signally displayed. To record such facts is humiliating ; but to have perpetrated them, brands with indelible infamy the character of James and his advisers. Bartholomew Legate, a native of Essex, was committed to Newgate for denying the divinity of Jesus Christ. His opinions appear to have been substantially the same as those which now bear the name of Socinus. His character was unblameable, and his acquaintance with the scriptures extensive. During his protracted imprisonment the king frequently gratified his own vanity by causing Legate to be brought into his presence, and by endeavouring to convince him of his errors. But the honest though mistaken man refused to surrender his judgment to the keeping of the king, and was treated with an indignity more dishonorable to James than to himself.^b At length he was convened before bishop

^a Fuller, x. 44. Lewis's Hist. of Transl., 306.

^b "One time," says Fuller, the king had a design to surprise him into a confession of Christ's Deity (as his majesty afterwards declared to a right reverend prelate), by asking him *whether or no he did not daily pray to Jesus Christ ?* which, had he acknowledged, the king would infallibly have inferred, that *Legate* tacitly consented to Christ's divinity, as

searcher of the hearts. But herein his majesty failed of his expectation, *Legate* returning, *that indeed he had prayed to Christ in the days of his ignorance, but not for these last seven years.* Hereupon, the king, in choler, spurned at him with his foot : *Away, base fellow* (saith he), *it shall never be said, that one stayeth in my presence that hath never prayed to our Saviour for seven years together."* —Ch. Hist., x. 62.

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King in the consistory of St. Paul's, who, in concurrence with several other bishops, divines, and lawyers, gave sentence against him as an *obdurate, contumacious, and incorrigible heretic*. He was delivered over to the secular power, and in March, 1612, was burnt at Smithfield, having honorably refused a pardon which was offered him at the stake, on condition of his recanting.

Edward
Wightman.

In the following month, Edward Wightman, of Burton-upon-Trent, having been convicted before bishop Neile, underwent the same horrid penalty at Litchfield. It is difficult to determine what his opinions were. Scarcely any heresy had existed in ancient or modern times, which his enemies did not lay to his charge, so that an impartial inquirer will be led to suspect the accounts handed down to us respecting him. He appears to have been a man of weak intellect, who surrendered himself to the guidance of a morbid imagination. Whatever opinions he may have entertained, his honest adherence to the convictions of his judgment entitles him to the respect and sympathy of mankind. The cruelty of these executions offended the public mind to such an extent as deterred James and his bishops from repeating them. A Spanish Arian, who had been condemned to the flames, was, in consequence, permitted to linger out his existence in Newgate.^c

^c Dr. Southey attributes his preservation from the flames to the benevolence of James; but Fuller more correctly attributes it to his policy. "Such burning of heretics," says the latter writer, "much startled common people, pitying all in pain, and prone to asperse justice itself with cruelty, because of the novelty and hideousness of the punishment. And

the purblind eyes of vulgar judgments looked only on what was near to them (the suffering itself), which they beheld with compassion, not minding the demerit of the guilt which deserved the same. Besides, such being unable to distinguish betwixt *constancy* and *obstinacy*, were ready to entertain good thoughts even of the opinions of those heretics

About the year 1614, Mr. Helwisse, the successor of Mr. Smith at Amsterdam, returned to London, together with the church of which he was pastor. This step was taken from the conviction that they had erred in flying from persecution to a strange land. They deemed it inconsistent with Christian fidelity thus to relinquish the station in which Divine Providence had placed them, and they accordingly returned to publish, at all personal risks, the truth which they had embraced. Their conduct was severely censured by their fellow-exiles, who uncharitably attributed it to other causes than that of spiritual courage.^d

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Baptists' re-
turn to Eng-
land.

who sealed them so manfully with their blood. Wherefore king James politically preferred that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in the prison, rather than to grace them, and to amuse others with the solemnity of a *public execution*, which in popular judgments usurped the honor of a persecution."—Ch. Hist., x. 64.

^d Crosby, i. 272. Reference is made to this subject in the treatise they published shortly after their return. The conduct of God to his people under the former dispensation is pointed out as illustrative of the course they should pursue in all cases of trial and persecution. "Did God," it is asked, "thus respect his work and people then, as all must put to their helping hand, and none must withdraw their shoulder lest others were discouraged; and is there no regard to be had thereof now; but any occasion, as fear of a little imprisonment or the like, may excuse any, both from the Lord's work, and the help of their brethren, that for want of their society and comfort are exceedingly weakened, if not overcome?"

If answer be made, they perform their duty in both, that they do the Lord's work; the pastor feeding his flock, and the people walking in fellowship one towards another; I demand, doth the Lord require no more work of them? Doth he not require that they should help to cast down *Babel*? If reply be made, they do it by their books; I answer, that may be done, and their lights shine by their mouths and conversations also among the wicked, which is the greatest means of converting them and destroying antichrist's kingdom; *they overcame* (not by flying away, but) *by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death*. God's people are the lights of the world, a city set on a hill, a candle set on the candlestick, giving light to all that come in, and therefore must shine by their persons more than by their books. And great help and encouragement would it be to God's people in affliction of imprisonment and the like, to have their brethren's presence to administer to their souls or bodies, and for which cause Christ will say, *I was in prison, and ye visited*

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Consistent
advocates of
religious
liberty.

Soon after their return, they published an admirable treatise, entitled, *Persecution for religion judged and condemned*, in which they maintained, with more explicitness and with better sustained reasonings than any of their predecessors, the impolicy and wickedness of persecution. They chose their ground with judgment, and defended it with scriptural fidelity; and the arguments which they employed are suited to every age and to every form of persecution. The distinct province of politics and religion, of God and the magistrate, is clearly marked, and the absurdity of persecution is hence argued. This was putting the question on its right basis, and entitles the authors of this treatise to the admiration and gratitude of posterity. It is written in the form of a dialogue between a *christian*, an *anti-christian*, and an *indifferent man*, and its main design is early stated by *Christian* to be this, "that none should be compelled to worship God but such as come willingly; for I will," he adds, "by God's assistance prove most evidently by the scriptures, that none ought nor can be compelled to worship God to acceptance by any worldly means whatsoever." The utmost respect for civil magistracy is avowed throughout this treatise, but its province is so limited as to exclude the enforcement of religion.

Magistrates' province defined.

"I acknowledge, unfeignedly," says *Christian*, "that God hath given to magistrates a sword to cut off wicked men, and to reward the evil-doers. But

me; in distress, and ye comforted me; and unto those who do not so according to their ability, Go, ye cursed. If men had greater love to God's commands, or the salvation of thousands of ignorant

souls in our nation, that for want of instruction perish, than to a little temporal affliction, they would never publish nor practise, as they do in this thing."—*Persecution, &c.*, p. 47.

this ministry is a worldly ministry, their sword is a worldly sword, their punishments can extend no farther than the outward man, they can but kill the body. And, therefore, this ministry and sword is appointed only to punish the breach of worldly ordinances, which is all that God hath given to any mortal man to punish. The king may make laws for the safety and good of his person, state, and subjects, against the which whosoever is disloyal or disobedient, he may dispose of them at his pleasure. The Lord hath given him this sword and authority, foreseeing in his eternal wisdom that if this his ordinance of magistracy were not, there would be no living for men in the world, and especially for the godly; and therefore the godly have particular cause to glorify God for this his blessed ordinance of magistracy, and to regard it with all reverence.

“But now, the breach of Christ’s laws, of the which we all this while speak, which is the thing only I stand upon; his kingdom is spiritual; his laws spiritual; the transgressions spiritual; the punishment spiritual—everlasting death of soul; his sword spiritual; no carnal or worldly weapon is given to the supportation of his kingdom, nor to punish the transgressors of the laws of this kingdom; the lawgiver himself hath commanded that the transgressors of these laws should *be let alone until the harvest*; because he knows that they that are now *tares*, may hereafter come to repentance and become *wheat*; they that are now *blasphemers, persecutors, and oppressors*, as *Paul* was, may by the power of God’s word become *faithful*, and a *faithful witness*, as he was; they that are now fornicators, &c., as some of the Corinthians once were, may

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hereafter become *washed, cleansed, and sanctified*, as they were; they that are now *no people, nor under mercy*, as the saints sometimes were, may hereafter become *the people of God, and obtain mercy*, as they did. All come not at the *first* hour, some come not till the *eleventh hour*; if those that come not till the last hour should be destroyed because they came not at the first hour, then should they never come, but be prevented.”^e

The enlarged and accurate views which this pamphlet broaches evince an astonishing progress in the knowledge of religious freedom, and fully entitle its authors to be regarded as the first expounders and most enlightened advocates of this best inheritance of man. Other writers, of more distinguished name, succeeded, and robbed them of their honor; but their title is so good, and the amount of service they performed on behalf of the common interests of humanity is so incalculable, that an impartial posterity must assign to them their due meed of praise. Owen has frequently been represented as the first consistent advocate of the right of private judgment; but he has sufficient claims on the gratitude and veneration of his

^e Page 14. The argument for coercion drawn from the power of the kings of Israel is thus met: “Christ alone is king of Israel, that sits upon David’s throne; and therefore mark the true proportion. In the time of the Old Testament, the kings of Israel had power from God to compel all to the ordinances of God, or to cut them off by their sword from the earthly land of Canaan and the promises thereof. So in the New Testament, the king of Israel, Jesus Christ, hath power from the

Father to compel all to the ordinances of God, or to cut them off by his sword from the heavenly land of Canaan and the promises thereof. The kings of Israel only had this power under the law, and the king of Israel only hath this power under the gospel. And, therefore, whosoever will challenge this power under the gospel, he must be the king of Israel in the time of the gospel, which is peculiar only to Jesus Christ, unto whom all power in heaven and earth is given.”

countrymen, without others being deprived of their glory in order to heighten his fame.^f It belonged to the members of a calumniated and despised sect, few in number and poor in circumstances, to bring forth to the public view, in their simplicity and omnipotence, those immortal principles which are now universally recognized as of divine authority and universal obligation.

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Rise of the
independents
at Leyden.

The progress of ecclesiastical sentiment was strikingly shown in the year 1616, by the formation of the first independent church in England. The Brownists, or earlier independents, had been distinguished by a censorious and bitter spirit towards the church of England. But their followers gradually corrected their mistakes, and infused into their views of the constitution and government of the church more of the temper of Christ. Mr. Robinson is justly regarded as the father of the English independents. So early as 1602 he had entered into association with several ministers and others in Norfolk, "to walk with God and one another, in the enjoyment of God's ordinances, according to the primitive pattern, whatever it might cost them." Being narrowly watched by the emis-

Mr. Robin-
son.

^f Mr. Orme, in his *Memoirs of Dr. Owen*, attributes too much to that distinguished divine. He does not give due honor to his predecessors in the noble work of enlightening the human mind, and of pleading for its emancipation from the trammels of authority. It is somewhat difficult to determine the sense in which Mr. Orme uses the term *independents* in many parts of his volume. The term is susceptible of a limited and of a more comprehensive signification. 'If he uses it in the former sense,

he is frequently incorrect in the statement of facts; if in the latter, he has not rendered his meaning sufficiently apparent. The following passage is an example:—"If, to the puritans, Britain is indebted in a great measure for her *civil liberty*, to the *independents* she has been indebted for all that is rational and important in her views of *religious freedom*." By the term *independents* here does he mean the denomination usually known by this title, or the whole body of congregationalists?

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saries of the archbishop, and having suffered severely from fines and imprisonments, many of them resolved to emigrate to Holland, where they hoped to obtain the liberty of worshipping God according to the dictate of their conscience. They had great difficulty, however, in escaping from England, it being the inhuman policy of the primate to prevent their repairing to any land where they might enjoy the liberty which he refused. Succeeding at length, they arrived at Amsterdam in 1608, when the dispute between Mr. Smith and the Brownists was at its height. Mr. Robinson and his associates, being desirous of avoiding such contentions, repaired to Leyden, where the magistrates permitted them to conduct public worship according to their own views. The intercourse which they held in this place with other protestants, and the opportunity for calm reflection which they possessed, exerted a very beneficial influence on their general principles and spirit. Mr. Robinson had been a zealous Brownist, but his views now became more expansive, and the gentleness and benevolence of his character were allowed to display themselves in his ecclesiastical system. Dr. Ames, the distinguished countryman and fellow-exile of Robinson, was particularly serviceable to him on this occasion. The consequence of this alteration, on the part of Robinson and his brethren, was an interchange of kind offices and of christian fellowship with the Dutch, and other reformed churches. The charities of their nature, instead of being restricted to the members of their own sect, embraced the catholic church, wherever found, and of whomsoever constituted.

Though Robinson still maintained the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the reformed churches in his neighbourhood, he recognized them as churches, and received their members into occasional fellowship with his own. "We account the reformed churches," says Mr. Robinson, "true churches of Jesus Christ, and both profess and practise communion with them in the holy things of God; their sermons such of ours frequent as understand the Dutch tongue; the sacraments we do administer unto their known members, if by occasion any of them be present with us; their distractions and other evils we do seriously bewail, and do desire from the Lord their holy and firm peace. But haply it will be objected, that we are not like-minded with them in all things, nor do approve of sundry practices in use amongst them, if not by public institution, yet by almost universal consent and uniform custom. I grant it; neither doubt I but that there are many godly and prudent men in the same churches, who also dislike in effect the things which we do; and, amongst other things, this malapert and unbridled boldness of unskilful men, who make it a very may-game to pass most rash censure upon the faith, and so, by consequence, upon the eternal salvation of their brethren, and to impeach their credit, whom they neither do nor perhaps willingly would know; lest that which they wish to condemn unknown, they should be constrained to allow, if they once knew it, and withal to disallow that into which they themselves have been led formerly by common error of the times." ^g

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His christian
liberality.

^g A just and necessary Apologie of certain Christians, no less con- tumeliously than commonly called Brownists or Barrowists, p. 9.

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Unscriptural
constitution
of the church
of England.

Robinson's views of the unscriptural constitution of the church of England are stated with distinctness, and the reasonings by which he endeavours to support them are not easily to be refuted. "All the natives and subjects of the kingdom," he says, "although never such strangers from all show of true piety and goodness, and fraught never so full with many most heinous impieties and vices (of which rank whether there be not an infinite, and far the greater number, I would to God it could with any reason be doubted), are without difference compelled and enforced by most severe laws, civil and ecclesiastical, into the body of that church. And of this confused heap (a few, compared with the rest, godly persons mingled among) is that national church, commonly called the church of England, collected and framed; and such is the material constitution of that church. And if now you demand of me how it is formally constituted, and whether upon profession of faith and repentance (in word at least), made by them of years, any combination and consociation of the members into particular congregations (which consociation doth formally constitute the ministerial church, and members thereof, as both the scriptures and reason manifest) either is or hath been made since the universal and antichristian apostasy and defection in popery? Nothing less, but only by their parish perambulation, as they call it, and standing of the houses in which they dwell. Every subject of the kingdom, dwelling in this or that parish,

Mr. Brooks represents this treatise as translated from the Latin, in which it was originally written, in 1644; but the English copy from which I quote was printed in 1625.—*Lives of Puritans*, ii. 344.

whether in city or country, whether in his own or other man's house, is thereby, *ipso facto*, made legally a member of the same parish in which that house is situated, and bound, will he nill he, fit or unfit, as with iron bonds, and all his with him, to participate in all holy things, and some unholy also, in that same parish church." ^h

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"We do not judge it," he afterwards remarks, in answer to the cavils of an opponent, "an evil intolerable (though greatly to be bewailed) that evil men should be suffered in the church; but that all of most vile and desperate condition, that such and so great a kingdom affords, should thereinto, will they nill they, be compelled; nor that the discipline (as they call it) or ecclesiastical government instituted by Christ, is neglected or violated, but that another, plain contrary unto it, is set up by law, and fully and publicly every where exercised. Neither lies our exception against any personal or accidentary profanation of the temple, but against the faulty frame of it, in respect of the causes, constitution, matter, and form. Neither strive we about the walls of the city, but about the true and lawful citizens, the policy and government of the city of God, and essential administration of the same." ⁱ

^h A just and necessary Apologie, p. 62.

ⁱ Ibid., 66. Robinson closes his treatise by an earnest appeal to the candour of his reader and the protection of his God. "If in any thing we err," says this enlightened advocate of scriptural truth, "advertise us brotherly, with desire of our information, and not (as our countrymen's manner for the most part is) with a mind of reproaching us, or gratifying of

others; and whom thou findest in error thou shalt not leave in obstinacy, nor as having a mind prone to schism. Err we may (alas! too easily), but heretics (by the grace of God) we will not be. But and if the things we do seem right in thine eyes (as to us certainly they do), I do earnestly and by the Lord Jesus admonish and exhort thy godly mind, that thou wilt neither withhold thy due obedience from his

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Formation
of the first
independent
church in
England,
1616.

The first independent church in England was formed in 1616, by Mr. Henry Jacob, formerly a Brownist, though not of the most rigid class. His intercourse with Mr. Robinson at Leyden had modified his views, and he published the result in a treatise entitled, *The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's true, visible, and material Church*. 1610. Returning to London in 1616, he called several of his friends together, and consulted them on the propriety of uniting together in church fellowship for a purer administration of the ordinances of Christ than was to be secured in the establishment. They agreed to his proposal; and, after observing a day of solemn fasting and prayer, each of them made open confession of his faith, and then joining hands, solemnly covenanted with each other, in the presence of Almighty God, to walk

truth, nor just succour from thy distressed brethren. Neither do thou endure, that either the smallness of the number or meanness of the condition of those that profess it, should prejudice with thee the profession of the truth; but have in mind that of Tertulian, *Do we measure men's faith by their persons, or their persons by their faith?* as also that of Austin, *Let matter weigh with matter, and cause with cause, and reason with reason*; but especially that of the apostle, *My brethren, have not the faith of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ in respect of persons*. But now, if it so come to pass (which God forbid) that the most being either forestalled by prejudice, or by prosperity made secure, there be few found (especially men of learning) who will so far vouchsafe to stoop as to look upon so despised creatures and their cause, this alone remaineth, that we turn our faces and mouths unto thee,

O most powerful Lord and gracious Father, humbly imploring help from God towards those who are by men left desolate. There is with thee no respect of persons, neither are men less regards of thee, if regards of thee, for the world's disregarding them. They who truly fear thee, and work righteousness, although constrained to live by leave in a foreign land, exiled from country, spoiled of goods, destitute of friends, few in number, and mean in condition, are for all that unto thee (oh, gracious God) nothing the less acceptable; thou numberest all their wanderings, and putteth their tears into thy bottle: are they not written in thy book? Towards thee, O Lord, are our eyes; confirm our hearts, and bend thine ear, and suffer not our feet to slip, or our face to be ashamed, O thou most just and merciful God."

together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should further make them known to them. Mr. Jacob was chosen pastor, and others were selected as deacons by the suffrage of the brethren.^j Thus another form of ecclesiastical government was erected in the kingdom, differing both from the episcopal and presbyterian. Limited as yet in the number of its supporters, it was destined at no distant period to engage the cordial support of many of the most vigorous and powerful intellects in the nation, and to become the retreat of religious freedom when assailed by presbyterian intolerance.

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^j Neal, ii. 92. Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches, i. 39.

CHAPTER XXI.

Selden's Submission—Book of Sports—Emigration of Independents to New Plymouth—Religious Character of the Colony—Rise of Doctrinal Puritans—The King's ecclesiastical Directions—Character of James.

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Selden's
submission.

MR. JOHN SELDEN, one of the most learned men in England, about the year 1618, aroused the fears and incurred the hatred of the clergy, by publishing a *History of Tithes*, in which he strenuously maintained that their sole title to ecclesiastical property was founded on the laws of the kingdom. The consequences of such a doctrine were dreaded by the clergy, while the character, learning, and reputation of Selden drew general attention to his treatise. "Never a fiercer storm," says Fuller, "fell on all parsonage barns since the reformation, than what this treatise raised up." The rage of his enemies knew no bounds; but instead of submitting their cause to the decision of the public judgment, they resolved on adopting their usual mode of suppressing obnoxious opinions. "The chief governors of the church," says Heylin, after mentioning some replies to Selden's treatise, "went a shorter way, and not expecting till the book was answered by particular men, resolved to seek for

reparation of the wrong; from the author himself, upon an information to be brought against him in the high commission." Selden was alarmed by the determination of his enemies; and, knowing the temper of the king, and the merciless rigor with which ecclesiastical delinquencies were punished, he signed the following acknowledgment, in open court at Lambeth, on the 28th of January, 1618:

"My lords, I most humbly acknowledge my error, which I have committed in publishing the History of Tithes, and especially, in that I have at all, by showing any interpretations of holy scriptures, by meddling with councils, fathers, or canons, or by whatsoever occurs in it, offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure Divino*, of the ministers of the gospel; beseeching your lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my grief, for that through it I have so incurred both his majesty's and your lordship's displeasure, conceived against me in behalf of the church of England.^k

"JOHN SELDEN."

The bishops gloried in this submission; which, it must be acknowledged, was sufficiently humiliating to Selden. He did not possess the fortitude which was required for the part he had undertaken; but though he bowed to the storm, his writings continued to influence the public mind, and to expose to contempt the unfounded pretensions of the clergy.

A singular and very culpable measure was now adopted by the king to check the prevalence of

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of the Book
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May, 1618.

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puritanism. It was seen to be identified with a religious spirit, and to manifest itself in a scrupulous observance of the Sabbath-day. The members of this party were distinguished from their neighbours and associates by a cautious and punctilious avoidance of all secular occupations and amusements on that day. They regarded it as sacred to the Deity, and employed its hours in the performance of religious services. The king and his clerical advisers consequently hoped to turn the current of popular feeling against them, by sanctioning those sports which they disallowed. For this purpose a proclamation was issued, bearing date May 24, 1618, which stated that the king had lately observed, in his progress through Lancashire, that the excessive scruples of some magistrates and ministers, in hindering the people from practising their lawful recreations on the Sabbath, had given great offence, and scandalized the church of England. He therefore commands, "that after the end of divine service his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation ; such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation ; nor from having of may-games, whitson-ales, and morris-dances, and the setting up of may-poles, and other sports therewith used ; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service ; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old customs. But withal, we do here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon *Sundays* only ; as bear and bull-

baitings; and at all times, in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.”¹

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The catholics and puritans were excepted from this indulgence, which the clergy of Lancashire were commanded to read from their pulpits. It was designed by its framers to be extended to all the churches in England; but archbishop Abbot, faithful to his high vocation, forbade it to be read at Croydon, where he resided at the time of its publication. His decision compelled the king to hesitate, and the obnoxious proclamation was for the present withdrawn. The Book of Sports is reported to have been drawn up by bishop Moreton, and had it not been met with so firm a resistance, it would have inflicted an injury on the morals and religion of the country which the piety of individuals might vainly have attempted to remedy. Its publication presents the character of James and his advisers in the worst possible light. It was a cool and deliberate act of impiety, in which the name of religion was hypocritically employed to destroy its living spirit. Human nature is sufficiently disposed to neglect the sacred purposes of the christian Sabbath, without being invited to do so by the recognized head of the church. But the spirit and conduct of the puritans were so hateful to the king, that religion itself was to be sacrificed in order to bring them into contempt. “The puritans,” it is remarked by the biographer of bishop Hall, “being the objects of his majesty’s aversion and hatred, by their preaching and practice were inculcating the strict observance of the Sabbath, and therefore the fasts and festivals of the church were rather neglected;

¹ Phenix, i. 1. Fuller, x., 74. Collier, ii., 711. Neal, ii., 104.

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and in order to counteract this, his majesty thought proper to command those idle and vain sports on the Lord's-day, in order to prevent the growth of *puritanism* and *popery*; or in other words, to prevent the blessed effects of true religion in the minds of his subjects, and to encourage all vice and immorality."^m

Emigration of
independents
to New Ply-
mouth.
1620.

The independent congregation at Amsterdam having declined, through the death of its aged members, and the marriage of the younger ones into Dutch families, Mr. Robinson and his associates became anxious for the preservation of the principles on which their church was formed. Numerous meetings were held to seek the divine guidance; and it was at length resolved to emigrate to America, and to form a colony where their sentiments might be preserved, and their brethren find a refuge from persecution. Agents were accordingly sent to England, who obtained a patent from the king, allowing them the free exercise of their religion in any part of America where they might settle, and arrangements were made with some merchants favorable to the undertaking. Several of Mr. Robinson's congregation immediately disposed of their property, and a common fund was raised, with which they purchased the *Speedwell*, a small ship of sixty tons, and hired the *May-flower*, of one hundred and eighty tons.

^m Jones's *Life and Times of Bishop Hall*, 71. The king, in publishing the *Book of Sports*, was as inconsistent with himself as with the religion he professed. So recently as the year 1615, he had ratified the articles of the Irish church, in which the morality of the Lord's-day is thus distinctly

affirmed: "The first day of the week, which is the Lord's-day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both public and private."—Neal, v., 44.

All things being prepared for their departure, a solemn day of fasting and prayer was observed, when Mr. Robinson preached from Ezra viii. 21: *I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might afflict our souls before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* He concluded his discourse with the following admirable address, in which the nobility of his character, and the enlarged liberality of his views, are equally apparent.

“Brethren (said he), we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation. The *Lutherans* can’t be drawn to go beyond what *Luther* saw: whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to *Calvin*, they will rather die than embrace it. And the *Calvinists*, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

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Address of
Mr. Robinson
to the emi-
grants.

“This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in

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their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God ; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, *that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.* Remember *that*, and every other article of your sacred covenant ; but I must here withal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it ; for 'tis not possible the christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of *Brownist* ; 'tis a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion and the professors of it odious to the christian world.”ⁿ

On the 1st of July, 1620, Mr. Robinson and the seniors of his congregation accompanied their brethren from Leyden to Delfthaven, where they were to embark. They were one hundred and one in number, under the guidance of Mr. William Brewster, a ruling elder of Mr. Robinson's church.^o He was an admirable man, well fitted to the station assigned him, and united much of the wisdom of age (being then in his sixtieth year) with the vigor and resolution of youth. The brethren remained together all night, and having embraced each other in the morning, they knelt down on the sea-shore, and

ⁿ Neal's New England, i., 78.

^o Mr. Neal states their number to have been about one hun-

dred and twenty, in which he is corrected by Mr. Brook. Lives of the Puritans, ii. 341.

were commended by their pastor to the blessing and protection of heaven. They then set sail, and after being compelled to put into two English harbours, they arrived at their destination, enfeebled and sickly, on the 19th of December. On the 25th they began to erect a store-house for their goods, and some small cottages to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. They were divided into nineteen families, and their locality was decided by lot. Laws were immediately adopted for their government, and the name of New Plymouth was assigned to their settlement.

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The hardships they underwent are incredible. Soon after their landing a mortality raged amongst them which carried off nearly half of their number, and the survivors were so enfeebled that not more than six or seven were able to administer to the wants of their companions. They were also molested by the Indians, and their destruction would have been inevitable if the good providence of God had not interposed on their behalf.

This colony is honorably distinguished from all others in ancient or modern times. It was planted under the impulse of christian principle, and was designed to be a refuge whither the persecuted in England might repair with safety. The parties who originated it were men of exalted piety; and the motives which swayed their conduct were of the highest and purest order of which human nature admits. Other colonies had been founded at the impulse of national glory, or of commercial enterprise; but this sprang from a sacred regard to the interests of religion, whose healthful tone and vigorous nature it proclaimed to the communi-

Religious
character of
this colony.

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ties of Europe. The character of the colonists gave a religious complexion to their affairs, whilst their fortitude and piety revived the hopes of their brethren at home, and gave promise of a better state of things than had yet been realized. The world which the enterprising genius of Columbus had revealed to the European nations, was a theatre on which new maxims of government, and new forms of religion, were to be subjected to the test of experiment. Many of the settlements effected on its shores were conducted by men of piety, who were more solicitous for the preservation of christian truth, than for the accumulation of earthly gain. The experiment was consequently made under the happiest auspices, and the rising communities of the new world were speedily in a condition to speak the language of freedom to the enfeebled and decrepid forms of despotism in Europe. Their early history was distinguished by many inconsistencies, flowing from the errors they had imbibed in infancy. The peculiarity of their situation, and the perplexing and hazardous nature of the circumstances amid which they were required to act, unhappily led them to forget, on some occasions, the tolerant and generous principles which Robinson had inculcated. But his spirit revived amongst them, and ultimately effected the extinction of those laws and usages which were alike inconsistent with the spirit of christianity and the professions of their fathers.

Rise of doctrinal puritans.

The puritan controversy had hitherto respected the constitution and ceremonies of the church only. Both parties were united in doctrinal views, and James was known to have expressed more than

ordinary zeal in support of the opinions of Calvin. His delegates at the synod of Dort were instructed to concur in the condemnation of the tenets of Arminius, and he himself wrote against Vorstius with all the bitterness of an incensed polemic. Yet, within a very few years he cast off all the opinions he had thus advocated, and displayed a zeal on behalf of Arminianism in proportion to his former hostility. It is difficult to account for the rapid transition of James and his court from Calvinism to the opposite creed. The mystery would probably be solved if we knew the theological complexion of his favorites at this period. He was uniformly under the guidance of some one or more of his courtiers, whose influence determined his policy far more than reasons of state, or an enlightened anticipation of coming events. Laud was now rising in the church, and having accompanied James in 1617, in his journey to Scotland, he probably established himself in his confidence. An entire alteration in the policy of the monarch was speedily evinced. The way to promotion was closed against such of the clergy as adhered to the obvious meaning of the thirty-nine Articles, while every reward which a prodigal prince could bestow, was conferred on those who adopted the new creed of the monarch. The Calvinists were discountenanced at court, and an opposite theology was broached with the approval and under the patronage of the king. Those who contended for an interpretation of the Articles opposed to the views of the king, gained the title of doctrinal puritans, and were driven by the impolitic course adopted towards them into intercourse and

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fellowship with the more moderate of the non-conformists. The ranks of disaffection were thus swelled; and a growing conviction spread through the country, that the rulers of the church were alike regardless of the rights of conscience and the sacredness of religious truth. Archbishop Abbot was at the head of the doctrinal puritans; but he had little influence at this time in church affairs, and a circumstance which occurred in 1621 greatly depressed his spirits, and indisposed him to take part in public business.^p This change in the policy of the court revived the Calvinistic controversy. The disciples of Geneva deemed it matter of sacred obligation to bear witness to the truths from which the monarch had apostatized, while the followers of Arminius were emboldened by the recent change to speak in a firmer tone, and with a less compromising spirit, than they had hitherto done. The pulpits of the kingdom became, in consequence, the arena on which contending theologists disputed for their respective creeds; to prevent the continuance of which, the king, in August, 1622, sent directions to the archbishop, to be communicated to the clergy of his province:

King's ecclesiastical directions.
1622.

“ 1. That no preacher, under a bishop or dean, shall make a set discourse, or fall into any common place of divinity in his sermons, not comprehended in the thirty-nine articles, or in some of the homilies.

^p Being in ill health, he was invited by his friend, Lord Zouch, to his seat at Bramshall, in Berkshire. Having accepted the invitation, and being engaged one day in hunting in the park, he struck a gamekeeper with an

arrow which he had discharged at a deer. The wound proved mortal, and the archbishop retired to Guildford, where he resigned himself to grief. He subsequently settled £20 a year on the widow. —Fuller, x. 87.

“2. That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, shall preach any sermon hereafter, on Sundays or holidays, in the afternoon, but expound the catechism, creed, ten commandments, or the Lord’s-prayer; and that those be most encouraged who catechise children only.

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“3. That no preacher, under a bishop or dean, presume to preach in any popular auditory on the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation; or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility, of God’s grace.

“4. That no preacher, of any degree soever, shall henceforth presume in any auditory to declare, limit, or set bounds to, the prerogative, power, or jurisdiction of sovereign princes, or meddle with matters of state.

“5. That no preacher shall use railing speeches against papists or puritans, but endeavour to free the doctrine and discipline of the church, in a grave manner, from the aspersions of both adversaries.

“6. That the archbishop and bishops be more wary for the future in licensing preachers; and that all lecturers throughout the kingdom be licensed in the court of faculties, by recommendation from the bishop of the diocese, with a fiat from the archbishop, and a confirmation under the great seal of England.”^a

The design of these directions, was too obvious to escape notice. It was a party movement, intended to silence the Calvinists, while their adversaries were sure of being countenanced in their disobedience. The Arminians might have preached with

^a Fuller, x. 108. Collier, ii. 723. Neal, ii. 116.

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Character
of James.

James closed his inglorious career March 27, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Few monarchs have had their character drawn in more opposite colours. The court divines, who were so

^r Const. Hist., i. 552.

deeply indebted to his patronage, observed no bounds in the virtues which they ascribed to him. CHAP.
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 There was scarcely one befitting a prince, or of JAMES I.
 which human nature was capable, for which they did not professedly give him credit. Laud observes of him, that it was little less than a miracle that so much sweetness should be found in so great a heart; that clemency, mercy, and justice were all eminent in him; that he was the greatest patron of the church, and the most learned prince that had been known for ages.^s But bishop Williams, who preached his funeral sermon, exceeded even Laud in the fulsomeness of his panegyric. He selected for his text 1 Kings xi. 41, 42: “*And all the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon? And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years.*” After instituting a fanciful and absurd comparison between Solomon and James, the bishop remarks, in reference to his style, “you may observe the Ecclesiastes; in his figures, the Canticles; in his sentences, the Proverbs; and in his whole discourse, *reliquum verborum Salomonis*, all the rest that was admirable in the eloquence of Solomon. From his sayings I come to his doings. Every action of his sacred majesty was a virtue, and a miracle to exempt him from any parallel amongst the modern kings and princes. Of all christian kings that ever I read of, he was the most constant patron of churches and churchmen. I will speak it boldly, in the presence here of God and men, that I believe in my soul

^s Rushworth, i. 160.

CHAP. and conscience, there never lived a more constant,
 XXI. resolute, and settled protestant, in point of doctrine,
 JAMES I. than our late sovereign. Through all Europe no
 more question was made of his being just, than of
 his being king. He was unto his people, to the
 hour of his death, another cherubim with a flaming
 sword, to keep out enemies from this paradise of
 ours.”^t

The same strain of indiscriminate eulogy has
 been maintained to the present day, and has served
 greatly to mislead the public judgment. On the

^t Harris’s James I., p. 290. The comparison instituted by the preacher is an amusing specimen of perverted ingenuity. “I dare presume to say,” he remarks, “you never read in your lives of two kings more fully paralleled amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other kings besides themselves. King Solomon is said to be *unigenitus coram matre sua*, the only son of his mother; so was king James. Solomon was of a complexion white and ruddy; so was king James. Solomon was an infant king, *puer parvulus*, a little child; so was king James a king at the age of thirteen months. Solomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor; so, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late sovereign king James. Solomon was twice crowned and anointed a king; so was king James. Solomon’s minority was rough, through the quarrels of the former sovereign; so was that of king James. Solomon was learned above all the princes of the east; so was king James above all the princes in the universal world. Solomon was a writer in prose and verse; so, in a very pure and exquisite manner was our sweet sovereign

king James. Solomon was the greatest patron we ever read of to church and churchmen; and yet no greater (let the house of Aaron now confess) than king James. Solomon was honored with ambassadors from all the kings of the earth; and so, you know, was king James. Solomon was a main improver of his home commodities, as you may see in his trading with Hiram; and, God knows, it was the daily study of king James. Solomon was the great maintainer of shipping and navigation; a most proper attribute to king James. Solomon beautified very much his capital city with buildings and waterworks; so did king James. Every man lived in peace under his vine and his fig-tree, in the days of Solomon; and so they did in the blessed days of king James. And yet towards his end king Solomon had secret enemies, Razan, Hadad, and Jeroboam, and prepared for a war upon his going to the grave; so had and so did king James. Lastly, before any hostile act we read of in the history, king Solomon died in peace, when he had lived about sixty years; and so, you know, did king James.”—*Ibid.*, 288.

other hand, bishop Burnet and the writers of his school have represented James as "the scorn of the age, despised by all abroad, as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favorites, and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the corruption, of Spain." ^u His personal character does not admit of much doubt. His general abilities were far from contemptible; and had they been connected with practical wisdom, or controlled by moral principle, they might have entitled him to the respect of mankind. But he was destitute of both these qualities, and became in consequence an object of contempt and suspicion. No reliance could be placed on his professions, for he gloried in a species of deceit which he termed kingcraft, by which he expected to solve all the enigmas of government, and to escape all its dangers. "He displays such levity and want of thought," writes his contemporary, Henry IV. of France, "in all his words and actions, that it is difficult to build upon him. He deals with Rome, Spain, and every power exactly as with me, but in truth, attaches himself to none; moves in this or that direction, on account of this or that expectation, suggested to him by some about him; but ascertains neither the foundation nor merits of the subject, so that, as I foresee, he will let himself be surprised in all things." ^v

James was much addicted to intoxication, and to the use of profane oaths, and was not exempted from the suspicion of a more revolting crime. ^w His

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^u Burnet's Own Time, i. 30.

^v Raumer's Hist. of the 16th and 17th Centuries, ii., 191.

^w Harris's Life of James I., 78-

98. Raumer's Illustrations supply additional evidence of the

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court was a scene of open profligacy, "equal," remarks Mr. Hallam, "to that of Charles II., in the laxity of female virtue, and without any sort of parallel in some other respects."^x And yet bishops and court divines could be found to represent this monarch as a pattern of christian virtue. It is true that the name of religion was perpetually on his lips, but his heart was destitute of its spirit, and his life failed to exemplify its graces. His vanity was flattered by presiding over the consultations of divines, and the reproaches of an accusing conscience probably required some such opiate as his professions of attachment to christianity supplied.

His despotic
principles.

His maxims of government were despotic, and had the feebleness of his character permitted it, he would have acted them consistently out. He was perpetually offending his parliament, by an avowal of arbitrary principles, yet was destitute of the foresight and intrepidity which were necessary for their maintenance. He awakened opposition by his pretensions, and then, alarmed at the dangers which threatened them, he rendered himself ridiculous by the manner in which he withdrew them.^y

His ecclesiastical govern-
ment.

His ecclesiastical government laid the foundation of all those evils which embittered the reign and produced the tragical death of his son. Surrounding himself with a servile clergy, he repaid their

king's inebriety, ii. 200, 210. See also Vaughan's Stuart Memorials, i. 344.

^x Const. Hist., i. 452.

^y "Consider, for pity's sake," writes the French minister to his master, "what must be the condition of a prince, whom the preachers publicly from the pul-

pit assail; whom the comedians of the metropolis bring up on the stage; whose wife attends these representations in order to enjoy the laugh against her husband; whom the parliament braves and despises; and who is universally hated by the whole people."—Raumer, ii. 206.

flattery by a zealous support of their immunities, and a merciless proscription of their foes. He hated the puritans as heartily as any of his bishops, and brought to their persecution all the rancour and fierceness of polemical strife. The clergy lent themselves to the support of his prerogative, with a zeal which entitled them to his patronage. So early as 1606, the convocation drew up a set of canons deducing the origin of government from the patriarchal regimen of families, and denouncing the more popular and liberal views which were becoming prevalent. Passive obedience to the reigning monarch is inculcated throughout these canons, and anathemas are liberally pronounced on all who refuse it.² The same doctrines were maintained by the higher clergy during the whole of this reign; towards the close of which, the university of Oxford pronounced a solemn decree, "That by the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, it is in no case lawful for subjects to make use of force against their prince, nor to appear offensively or defensively in the field against the king, either upon the score of religion, or any other account whatever." All doctors, masters, and bachelors of law and physic, were to subscribe this article; and all persons to be promoted in future to any degree, were further required to take an oath that they not only at present detested the opposite doctrines, but would always continue to be of the

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² Hallam, i. 438. The second canon runs thus: "If any man shall affirm that men at the first ran up and down in woods and fields, &c., until they were taught by experience the necessity of government; and that there-

fore they chose some among themselves to order and rule the rest, giving them power and authority so to do; and that consequently all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority, was first derived from the people, and dis-

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same opinion.^a These slavish dogmas offended the house of commons, and arrayed against the rulers of the church every friend of liberal government and of popular rights. The puritans and the patriots were more closely united than ever. They sympathized with each other's views; and, sharing a common peril, they combined for mutual defence.

The vacillating policy of James towards his catholic subjects was another source of mistrust and dissatisfaction. This marked the whole of his reign, but was especially visible during the treaty for the Spanish match. A dread of the return of popery was thus awakened, which in its blindness and impetuosity called for severer penalties and more exterminating laws against the persecuted members of the papal church. A line of distinction was thus palpably drawn between the church party and their opponents. The former advocated the prerogative of the throne, the latter the rights of the nation; the one contended for the propriety of relaxing the penal laws against the papists, the other demanded the infliction of their unmitigated rigor. This state of parties operated unfavorably on the interests of the church. It was deserted both by the patriot and the zealous protestant; and was regarded as a sort of middle or neutral ground, where the half-hearted in politics and religion only could abide. The puritans and the catholics increased in numbers and boldness. The former especially made rapid

ordered multitude, or either is originally still in them, or else is deduced by their consent, naturally from them, and is not God's

ordinance, originally descending from him, and depending upon him, he doth greatly err."

^a Collier, ii. 725.

progress in the enunciation of those immortal principles for which they so zealously struggled in the following reign. The severities practised against them, instead of subduing their spirit, only hardened them for the endurance of suffering, and fitted them successfully to plead the cause of human liberty against the iron despotism of Laud and Strafford.

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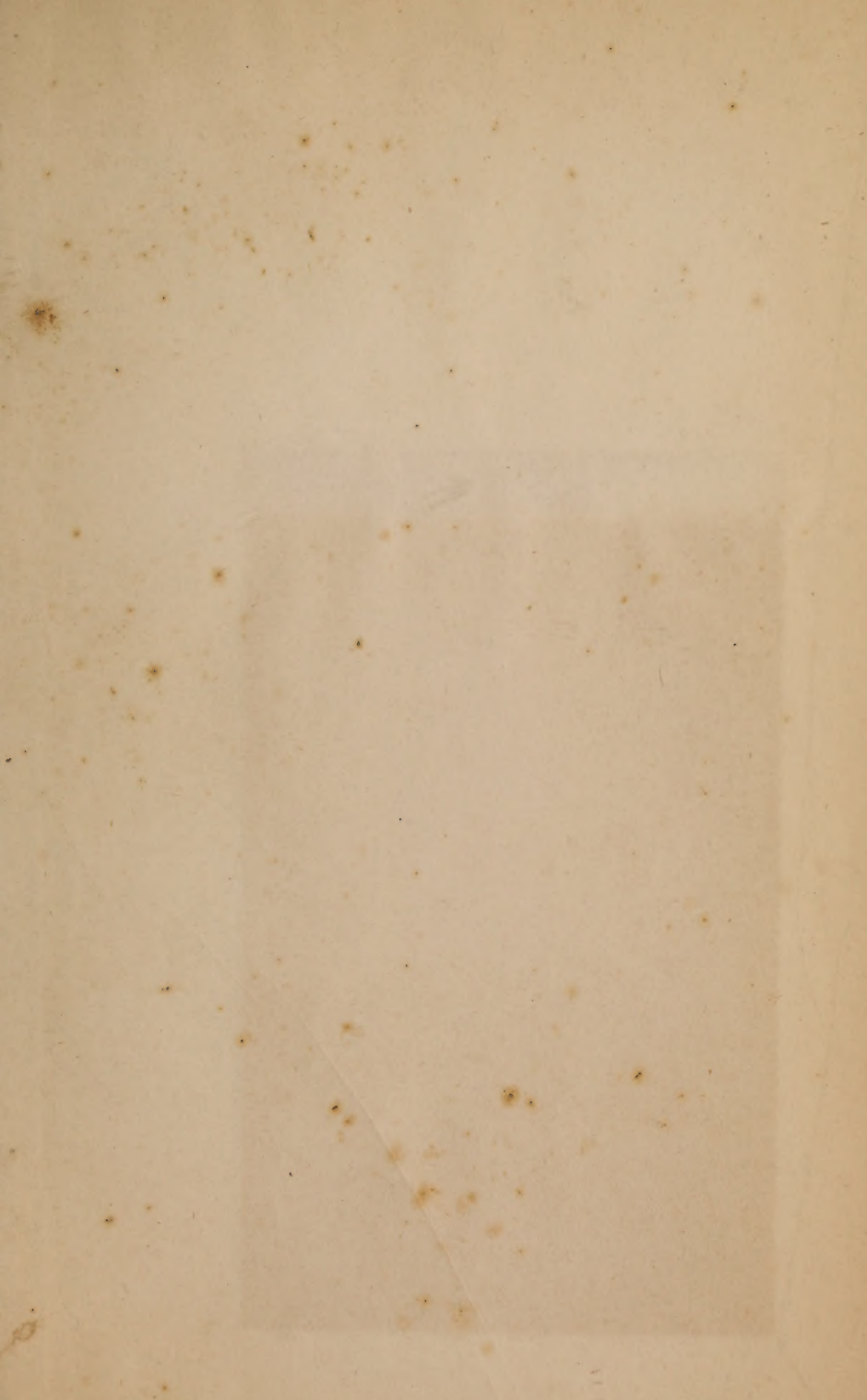
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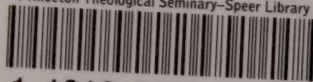
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